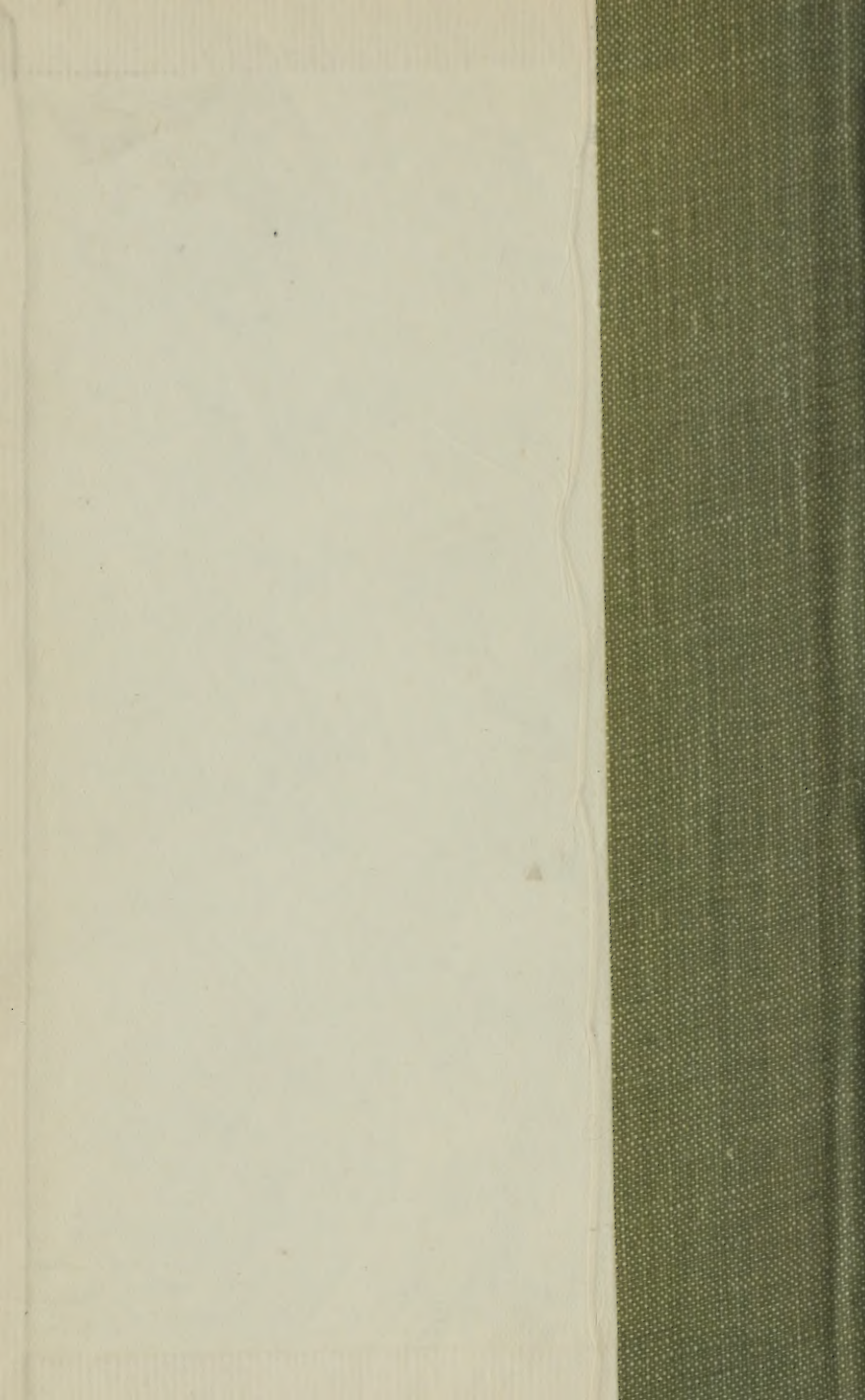
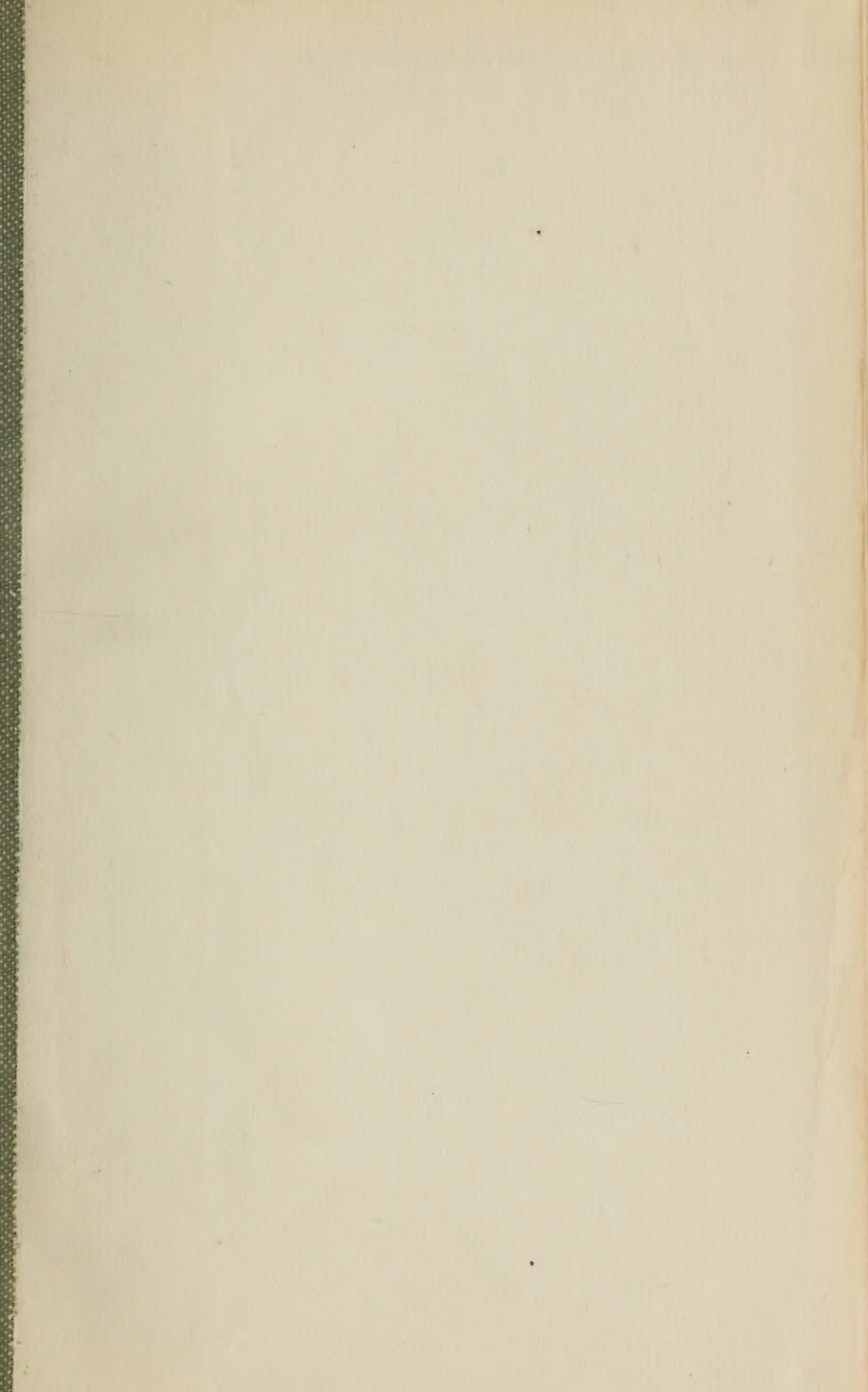





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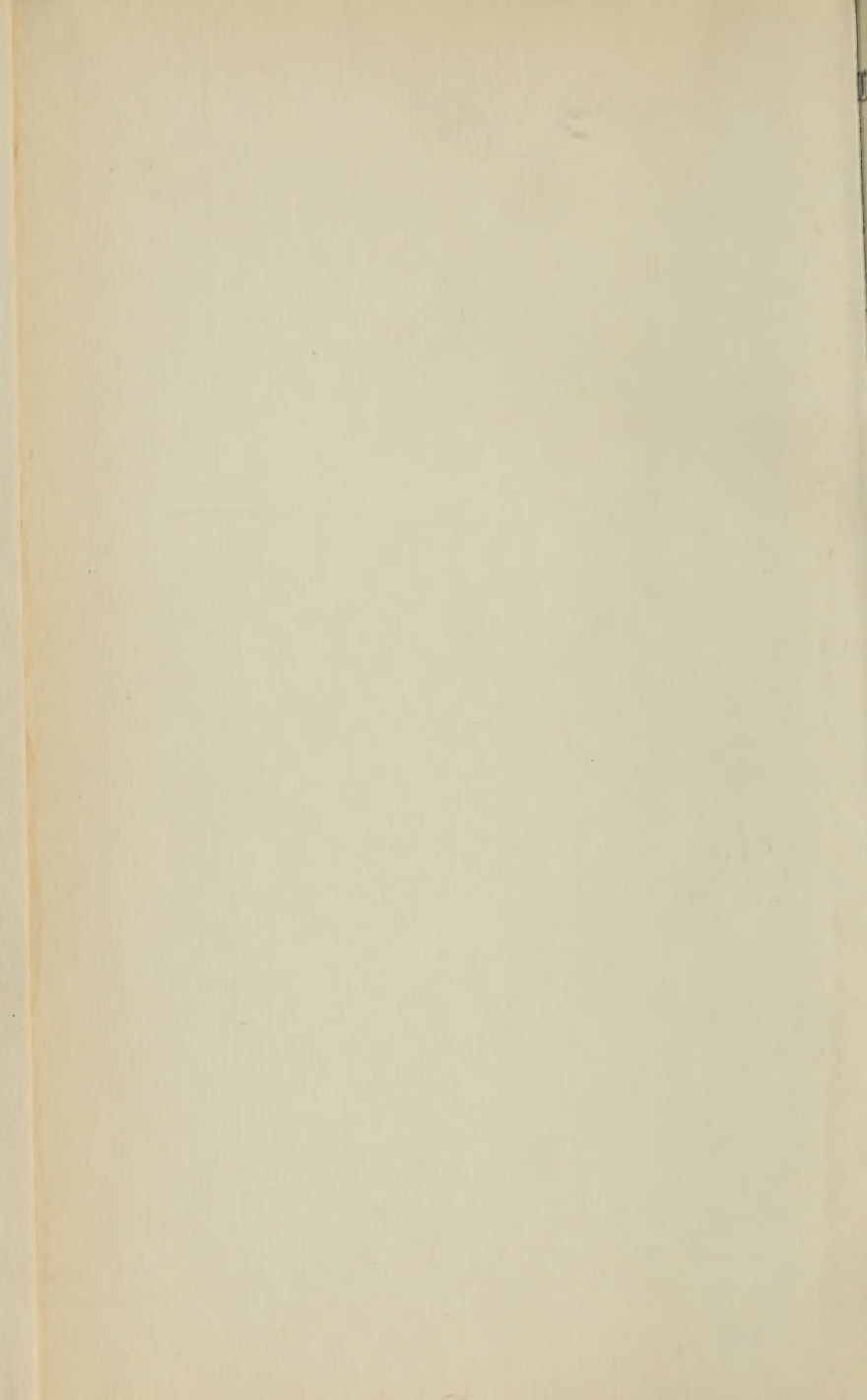




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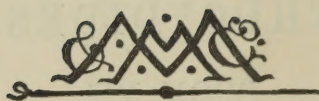
Classical Series.

THUCYDIDES

BOOK VII







Book VII  
THUCYDIDES

BOOK VII

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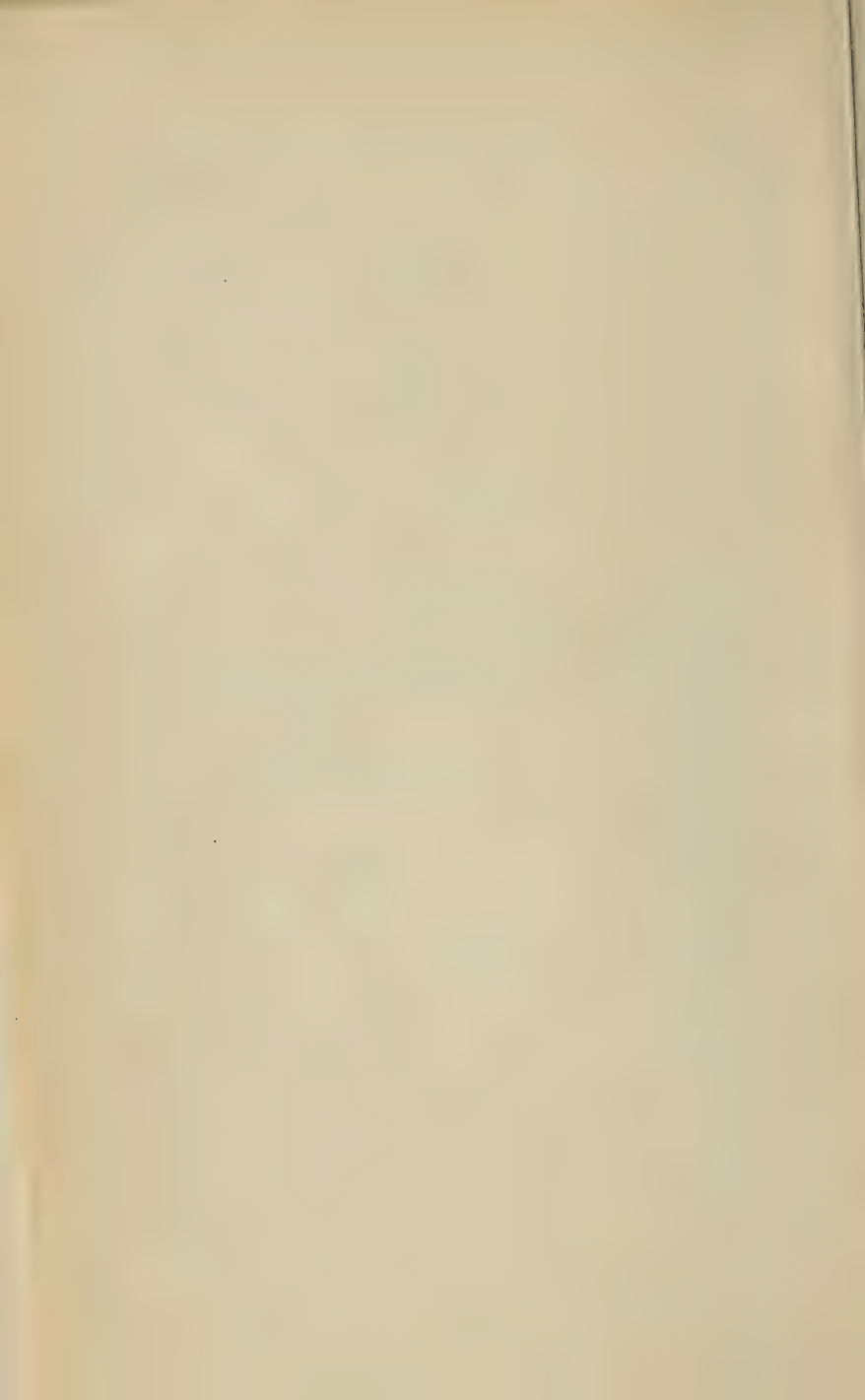
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TO

THE REV. W. GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D.



1211

# CONTENTS

PAGE

## INTRODUCTION—

§ 1. The Siege-Works of the Athenians, with plan . . . . .	ix
§ 2. Nicias. A Sketch . . . . .	xvii
§ 3. The MSS. and Text of the Seventh Book . . . . .	xxxix

TEXT . . . . .	1
----------------	---

NOTES . . . . .	109
-----------------	-----

## APPENDIX—

I. On the first harangue of Nicias . . . . .	213
II. On the text of certain passages . . . . .	216
III. Events at Athens, July 414–Sept. 413 . . . . .	218

INDEX—Greek . . . . .	223
-----------------------	-----

English . . . . .	251
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## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. THE SIEGE-WORKS OF THE ATHENIANS AT SYRACUSE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GYLIPPUS<sup>1</sup>

AS soon as the Athenians had obtained possession of 414 B.C.  
Epipolae, they fortified a point known as Labdalum, which looked from the north side of the cliff towards Megara. From Labdalum they marched down Epipolae towards the walls of the city, searching for a site suitable for the building of a central fort which might serve them as a base of operations while engaged in circumvallating the city. Presently they found themselves in a broad open table-land which descended by a barely perceptible incline to the walls of Achradina.

In selecting the site for this central fortress, the Athenian generals had to look for a point which lay about half-way between the Great Harbour and the northern sea—since to those limits their projected lines were to be carried northward and southward. The fort must not be very near to the city itself ;

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of junior students and of those who prefer to avoid controversy, I have relegated to the end of the section the arguments on which these remarks are based.

but, at the same time, the question of the distance to be covered with their lines was, of course, of extreme importance. They fixed on a site due south of Trogilus, and distant from the north coast about a mile and a half or rather less. Reckoning together the wall which would have to be built on the southern cliff from the central fort and that which would run from the southern cliff to the Great Harbour, about the same distance would have to be covered south of the fort—that is to say about a mile and a half. This point was thus north of the Portella del Fusco, and a short distance from the spot at which the southern wall would touch the edge of the cliff. In this place, then, they built a large round fort—or circle—protected in front by an outwork.

Soon, when the fortress stood finished, they began building out from it towards Trogilus. Meantime the Syracusans knew well that the object of the enemy was to hem them in, and they determined, by building a counter-work, to prevent him from reaching the Great Harbour. The besieged knew better than the besiegers that safe communication with the harbour was to the Athenian a matter of vital importance. This safe communication he should not obtain without a struggle. Now he was at present thinking only of his communication with his naval station at Thapsus. Accordingly the Syracusans built out a wall towards the Portella del Fusco, intending to carry it immediately south of and past the Athenian ‘circle.’ On the north side the wall was protected by a palisade, and near the east end there was a door in the wall affording communication between the north and south.

But the Athenians, after biding their opportunity,



attacked, captured and destroyed both palisade and wall. They then realised that, in order to secure communication with the sea, the southern wall was more needed than the northern. They therefore ceased building north of the 'circle' and 'proceeded to fortify the cliff above the marsh.' That is to say, they filled up with a wall the short space between the 'circle' and the Portella del Fusco. It is not possible to ascertain the exact point on the cliff at which this short piece of wall ended.

The Syracusans made a second effort to prevent the Athenians from reaching the Great Harbour. It was now useless to build along the cliff as they had previously done. Nor did they choose the middle level above the marsh, apparently because they expected that the Athenian works would reach it before they could build far enough to check them. Starting from the city they dug a trench across the marsh itself and towards the Anapus, building as before a palisade on the north side. But this work also was captured by the Athenians, but only at the cost of Lamachus' life. During the battle, the Athenian fleet, having left Thapsus, entered the Great Harbour.

And now from the Portella del Fusco Nicias built a double wall towards the coast. But why was it double? We can hardly doubt that Nicias had Athens and the Piraeus in mind, and that, following that model, he wanted to render safe the conveyance of provisions to the upper walls. When the fleet left Thapsus, he seems to have modified his plans to some extent and to have supposed that the northern wall might safely be left a mere fragment until he was quite secure on the south. He must have con-

sidered also, that—should the Syracusans occupy the Olympieum—a double wall in the low ground would be absolutely necessary to protect his army against simultaneous attacks directed from the village and from the city.

The account given above of the siege-works differs in some respects from all those hitherto published. The difficulties are entirely due to the careless description of Thucydides, who seems to have forgotten that his readers would not know the ground, with which he was himself familiar.

1. Where was the κύκλος? Thucydides says at Syce, which tells us nothing. On the middle of the slope of Epipolae, say Arnold, Grote, Stahl, Holm and Freeman. Near the southern cliffs, says Leake, who unfortunately arrives at his conclusion by an entirely wrong route. But the conclusion appears to be right. (a) Those who are opposed to it urge that the κύκλος was to be the central position of the Athenian lines, which were to run north and south from it. But this argument appears to me to be in favour of Leake. In the Seventh Book Thucydides mentions τὰ τείχη many times, but never to denote only the northern wall and that which joined the κύκλος to the edge of the cliff. He means by τὰ τείχη either forts, or the double wall, or the lines generally. He evidently did not think τὰ τείχη the right expression for the two short pieces of single wall. Now, in order that the κύκλος may be approximately in the centre of the Athenian τείχη, it is clear that if the κύκλος is to be placed north or north-west of the Portella del Fusco, it must also be near the cliff; otherwise the distance to be built over will be considerably greater at

the south than at the north of the κύκλος. Of itself, however, the argument that the κύκλος must have been the central point is not of much weight.

(b) In vi. 101, 1 comes a statement which causes great difficulty to those who place the κύκλος on the middle of Epipolæ. Thucydides says ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔλους, and then further on he refers to τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνόν. First, what does ἐτείχιζον τὸν κρημνόν mean? 'They fortified a point on the cliff,' according to Arnold, Grote, and Freeman, and, owing to the distance which they assume between κύκλος and κρημνός, they naturally find ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου difficult to explain. Subsequently, they say, Nicias must have built a wall between this new fort on the κρημνός and the κύκλος. But Thucydides says nothing about such a building. Stahl sees that ἐτείχιζον τὸν κρημνόν must mean 'they fortified the cliff,' and cannot mean 'built a wall along the cliff,' as Classen says. So Stahl reads <ἐς> τὸν κρημνόν with Lupus.

Surely the words mean '*they built a wall on the cliff.*' The expression is quite natural as soon as we place the κύκλος just north of the Portella del Fusco; for a wall built from the κύκλος will thus be on the cliff. This short piece of wall is afterwards still more accurately called τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνόν; but so short comparatively was the wall built '*to the cliff*' that it could also be called a wall '*on the cliff.*'

(c) The nearer the κύκλος to the south cliff, the easier would communication be with the Great Harbour. The fact that the southern wall was double sufficiently shows that Nicias knew that he would have to be careful about this matter. It is no objection that he began building to the north first; for, when no walls as yet existed, he may quite well have thought that he was even more exposed to attack on that side, and at first he probably contemplated keeping a naval station at Thapsus with a view to his connection with Catana and

the south of Italy. Some modern writers, as Holm and Fr. Müller, apparently struck with the importance of the southern communication, while placing the *κύκλος* in the centre of Epipolæ, represent the wall which connected the *κύκλος* with the *κρημνός* as double, like that from the *κρημνός* to the Harbour; but there is absolutely no authority for this in the text, and very much that is against it.

2. Where was the first Syracusan counter-work? Göller, Dunbar, Didot and Stahl place it *north* of the *κύκλος*; while Leake, Arnold, Grote, Holm, Classen and Freeman place it at the *south*. Thucydides says merely that the Syracusans *ἐτείχιζον κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου*.

(a) It is unnecessary to demonstrate that *κάτωθεν* can mean 'south of.' If we could be sure that this is the meaning, the matter would be settled. Freeman indeed is not clear what the words mean. On p. 664 of his third vol., he says it means 'on a level lower than that of the Athenian central fort': on p. 668 he commends Grote for being 'the first to see, in opposition to both Arnold and Leake, that *κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου* did not mean on a lower level than the Athenian fort, but lower down on the cliff,' i.e. *south* of the fort. Those who place the Syracusan work *north* of the 'circle' make *κάτωθεν* mean 'on lower ground'; but it is a grave objection to this explanation that the land rises but very slightly between the walls of Syracuse and the site of the Athenian lines. (See also note on c. 2, 4.) It simplifies matters very much if we can take *κάτω* to mean 'south' and *ἄνω* 'north' in the narrative of the siege.

(b) The Syracusans knew well that they had before all things to prevent the Athenians from reaching the Great Harbour. Else, why was the *second* counter-work built across the marsh and not rather north of the *κύκλος*? The most effectual way to carry out their purpose was to build in the first instance towards the Portella del Fusco.



(c) If the Syracusans built the first counter-work on the north side of the κύκλος, why did the Athenians leave off building at the north wall after destroying the counter-work? They would have had every reason to press on in that direction to prevent the Syracusans from repeating their attempt to traverse the northern wall. But if the Syracusans built between the κύκλος and the κρημνός, Nicias had good reason for building at once across this space; just as afterwards, when he had turned the Syracusans out of the marsh, he at once proceeded to build across it.

3. There is a serious difficulty connected with the wall of Gylippus. It is in the words (vii. 7; 1) αἱ δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες . . . ἐσέπλευσαν . . . καὶ ξυνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους. Grote and Freeman say that when Gylippus had built past the unfinished northern wall, "he began to work at the extreme point of Euryelus and then built eastward till he reached the wall already begun at the other end." But what object had Gylippus in beginning anew at Euryelus instead of continuing to build westwards? To secure the road up the hill, says Freeman. This reason is insufficient. (a) There would be a gap of at least a mile and a half between the western extremity of Gylippus' incomplete wall and the point on Euryelus at which this supposed new start was made. While Gylippus was building eastwards there was nothing whatever to prevent Nicias from passing through this gap and cutting off his communication with the wall at the east. It was at least as likely that Nicias would do this as that Athenian reinforcements would attempt to come up by the west road before Gylippus could complete his original wall. (b) In all other cases in which either side made a change in the scheme of building, Thucydides tells us of it. But he says nothing whatever about a second wall of Gylippus built to meet the first. The plan is invented by modern writers and attributed

to Gylippus in order to explain the one word *μέχρι*. Is it not far more probable that τοῦ Εὐρυίλου has dropped out of the text before τοῦ ἐγκαρτίου than that Thucydides has forgotten to tell us of this very important change in Gylippus' plans?



§ 2. NICIAS. A SKETCH.

JOHN STUART MILL was an ardent admirer of Grote. In a remarkable passage of his *Representative Government*, he acutely observes that the adoption of an ingenious scheme for the parliamentary representation of minorities would insure greater political influence to the *élite* of the instructed classes. 'Their abilities would probably draw to them more than their numerical share of the actual administration of government; as the Athenians did not confide responsible public functions to Cleon or Hyperbolus (the employment of Cleon at Pylos and Amphipolis was purely exceptional), but Nicias, and Theramenes, and Alcibiades were in constant employment both at home and abroad.' And in another passage, in his review of Grote's history, he says: 'The Demos (of Athens) may be alternately likened to the commonly received idea of a man, a woman, or a child, but never a clown or a boor. Right or wrong, wise or foolish, Athenians are never ἀπαίδευτοι; theirs are never the errors of untaught or unexercised minds.' It has been the fashion, since Grote's work revolutionised the study of Greek history, for writers to express dissent from the view which Thucydides presents to us of Nicias. Even those who are most

enthusiastic in praise of the general accuracy of Thucydides are forced to admit, when they come to Nicias, that here at least the historian has either wilfully misled us, or was himself blinded by partiality.

Every reader of Grote knows his eloquent protest against the sympathetic remark with which Thucydides dismisses Nicias<sup>1</sup>: 'Our great historian—after devoting two immortal books to this expedition—after setting forth emphatically both the glory of its dawn and the wretchedness of its close, with a dramatic genius parallel to the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophoklēs—when he comes to recount the melancholy end of the two commanders, has no words to spare for Demosthenēs (far the abler officer of the two, who perished by no fault of his own), but reserves his flowers to strew on the grave of Nikias, the author of the whole calamity—"What a pity! Such a respectable and religious man!"' One can almost see the historian working himself into a fine democratic frenzy, and then piling up his lofty sentence only to throw that stone at it just when it is complete:—'Such a respectable and religious man!'

Undoubtedly Demosthenes was far the abler officer of the two. Thucydides was the last man to be duped, and he shows clearly, by the narrative which he gives of the exploits of Demosthenes, that he knew him to be an officer of quite unusual ability. Yet he reserves his flowers to strew on the grave of Nicias. His verdict therefore is thought to be

<sup>1</sup> c. 86, 5 καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτη ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτία ἐτεθνήκει, ἡκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν. We are not here concerned with either the reading or the construction of this sentence.

unjust. The next generation, we may suppose, or the second or the third generation after Thucydides will reverse his decision. So we come to the time of Aristotle, with whom, as with Mill, history is but the servant of philosophy. He will estimate, perhaps more accurately than a mere historian could have done, the real value of a man's work. In public opinion, at any rate, the statesmen of the fifth century before Christ will have assumed their proper places. Contemporary historians are notoriously unsafe guides in matters of opinion. But the public opinion of a century later counts for something. And what does Aristotle<sup>1</sup> tell us? 'With regard to Nicias nearly everybody admits that he was not only a man of noble birth and character (*καλὸς καὶ γαθός*), but also a statesman, and that his public career was entirely worthy of his ancestors.' It is clear that Nicias is not to be condemned off-hand as a fool.

The undertakings of Nicias outside Attica previous to the Sicilian Expedition, though they were of considerable service to Athens, were certainly not of a very arduous nature. Ever since 427 B.C. he was, as Mill puts it, in constant employment both at home and abroad. That is to say, he was almost continuously elected war-minister for a succession of years nearly as long as that during which Pericles had continuously held office. In 427 he had done good service by occupying the island of Minoa which lay off Megara. This proceeding would render the Piraeus more secure against a surprise

<sup>1</sup> The reader will understand that no opinion is here implied as to the actual authorship of the Aristotelian treatise *On the Constitution of Athens* as we have it.

like that attempted two years before. In the following year he went in command of a considerable force to Melos, and, if we may trust the statement of Diodorus, he actually laid siege to the island. Anyhow he failed to gain possession of it in spite of his large fleet and army. On his return to Greece, he laid waste the territory of Tanagra, and then sailed home. More than one writer has remarked that this expedition is in every respect similar to that which Pericles made against Epidaurus just before the outbreak of the plague (ii. 56).

It is impossible to defend the behaviour of Nicias in his dispute with Cleon about the expedition to Pylus. Grote abundantly proves that Cleon was in the right. Nevertheless the conduct of Nicias was in accordance with his principles, and a large party in the assembly undoubtedly believed *him* to be in the right. In the first place Nicias was exasperated that an opportunity of ending the war on favourable terms had just been lost through Cleon's blustering. While the Lacedaemonians were being blockaded in Sphacteria, they had sent envoys to Athens to propose peace: but, owing to the extravagant demands made of them on Cleon's proposal, they had returned to Pylus without success. Grote himself admits that Cleon was to blame here; that 'there was every reason for trying what could be done by negotiation,' and that 'the step, by which Kleon abruptly broke off such hopes (the hopes of peace), was decidedly mischievous.' The farmers of Attica were particularly galled by the protraction of the war, and they formed probably the most numerous body in the aggregate of minorities which supported Nicias. They doubtless flocked into Athens in



considerable numbers when the request for reinforcements arrived from Demosthenes, and jeered at Cleon for having caused the unceremonious dismissal of the Spartan envoys. The apparent inconsistency which so often surprises us in the action of the Athenian assembly not infrequently disappears when we recollect that the members attending and voting in the assembly on different days differed very much. We know that Nicias himself always felt some anxiety whether he would at an important meeting be able to command a majority of the voters present.

There is another circumstance which goes far to explain both the attitude of Nicias throughout this transaction and the favourable light in which Thucydides sets his conduct. The occupation of Pylus was the design of Demosthenes. Now that officer was the chosen general of the party which desired a more active policy outside Attica. He was the hero of the brilliant and risky Aetolian expedition which had been the first decided reversal of the policy of Pericles. Both Thucydides and Nicias firmly believed that the policy of Demosthenes was wrong. That is why Thucydides 'has no words to spare' for that gallant officer when he perished by no fault of his own in Sicily. Moreover the design of seizing Pylus was closely connected with the burning question of Athenian intervention in Sicily. The scheme for conquering Sicily—a scheme as ingenious and as impossible as the plan of Rasselas for escaping from the *happy valley* with the aid of a flying-machine—had been already started in the lifetime of Pericles. Gustav Gilbert believes with good reason that, when Pericles repeatedly warned his countrymen against dangerous enterprises, he had uppermost in his

thoughts the dream of Sicilian conquest. Unhappily Pericles left to Athens maxims instead of men; and Nicias was not strong enough, either by natural ability or by acquired influence, to guide Athenian ambition in safe paths.

Not that the permanent occupation of Pylus was a measure of which Pericles would certainly have disapproved. On the contrary, it was in accordance with the programme which he himself had sketched out before war was declared. But in the mind of Nicias the occupation of Pylus *just at that time* was closely associated with the dangerous scheme for invading Sicily; it seemed to bring the invasion of Sicily, as we say, within the range of practical politics. Should the occupation of Pylus prove a success, the extreme party would turn it to account as an argument in favour of aggressive measures. And in the result, when the post was permanently secured and the Spartans had been brought in triumph to Athens, whereas Cleon and his party viewed the late events only as an encouragement to prosecute the war with vigour, to double the sum payable by the allies, to negotiate for an alliance with Argos, and to attempt the recovery of the supremacy by land, Nicias and his party, on the contrary, looked upon the possession of the prisoners as a guarantee that peace was now near, and as an encouragement to work hard for peace.

We know, from the experience of our own times, that frequently those political and religious parties are the bitterest enemies, which, while they are in substantial agreement on most *essential* matters, differ only about mere *details*—about the desirability of making a measure, of which the advantage is, in the



abstract and apart from present circumstances, admitted by all parties, a test question at the present time. That was the situation with regard to Pylus. Nicias would admit that the occupation of a position on the Laconian coast was most desirable; at any rate, when the fortification of Pylus had been justified by success, he himself eagerly adopted a similar plan for annoying the enemy. But he would fight tooth and nail against *any* plan which brought the Sicilian expedition nearer.

Perhaps Nicias was quite wrong: but his action was not capricious, nor was it dictated by his personal dislike of Cleon. It was rational, and in accordance with principles which, as both Nicias and Thucydides believed, would have been approved by Pericles,—who, after all, as Aristotle at length saw, had been equally in the wrong.

One peculiarity in the character of Nicias stands out very prominently in all his dealings with Cleon. It is a quality on which we must dwell for a moment, as it greatly influenced the will of Nicias when he was in Sicily. The comic poets of course caricatured him on the stage, and a very poor creature they made of him. In the *Equites*, which was produced the year after the affair of Pylus, Nicias, Demosthenes, and Cleon are represented as the slaves of Demos. Nicias is utterly terrified of Cleon. He suggests suicide or desertion to the enemy as the only possible means of escape from his bullying. At the same time, of all forms of demise, he would much prefer the death of Themistocles. Two remarkable characteristics of Nicias are here satirised—his strong dislike of the new school of demagogues, and his ambition to leave behind him a reputation like that

of the older school,—the reputation of a profound politician. To this ambition, which Aristotle's remark proves to have been at least partially realised, we shall have to refer presently. That he was extremely sensitive to the attacks of demagogues is evident from the language which he is represented as using to Demosthenes in the debate on the question of abandoning the siege of Syracuse. Seven years after the quarrel with Cleon, he even combined with Alcibiades in order to rid the city of a demagogue. His sensitiveness in this matter doubtless laid him open to the unjust suspicion of personal cowardice. It should seem that in reality he regarded the blustering demagogue of the period as a noisome pestilence which made him lose his temper. In consequence of this weakness, Nicias sometimes made a poor figure in the assembly when any considerable section of his supporters was not present, or did not go with him; while at other times he was unable to do more than hold his own. This sensitiveness was not wholly irrational. It was due to intense regret that the old decorum which had marked the proceedings of the assembly in the days when Pericles developed his despotism of eloquence was dying out through the violence of the new demagogues. For this change in the character of the debates Cleon alone was responsible. Thanks to his shrewish tongue the discussions too often degenerated into a mere wrangle between rival speakers. In these disputes Nicias became angry and personal: he had nothing like the reserve and restraint of Pericles, who was often enough attacked, but never lost control either of himself or of the situation. That Nicias was in

the right in this matter must be conceded. He represented here 'the *élite* of the instructed classes'; whereas Cleon was not even above playing 'the clown or the boor' in a spirit utterly opposed to the hitherto dignified and educated character of the Athenian Demos. It is not without reason that Thucydides makes Cleon extol *ignorance*. There was really very much about Cleon to cause both Nicias and the historian, and indeed all the *élite* of the instructed classes, to detest him as the representative of the new eloquence and the new ignorance. Cleon was at the head of the small but noisy knot of ἀπαίδευτοι among Athenian politicians.

In the same summer, and shortly after this unfortunate encounter, Nicias sailed from the Piræus with a very considerable force and not only ravaged the eastern coasts of Peloponnese, but established a permanent garrison at Methana between Epidaurus and Troezen, thus carrying out in his own way the policy advocated by Pericles. It appears that Nicias was entrusted with special powers on this occasion, and there is not much doubt that he hoped to show Demosthenes and Cleon how that policy could be pursued without mortgaging the safety of Athens. This proceeding of Nicias lends additional point to the jests of Aristophanes in the following year upon the rivalry between the slaves of Demos in serving their difficult master. The same system was continued by Nicias in 424, when he took possession of the island of Cythera and again inflicted considerable damage on the eastern maritime region.

The repulse of Demosthenes at Siphæ and the disastrous defeat of Hippocrates at Delium were very severe checks to the progressive party, and

afforded Nicias once again the opportunity for which he was always on the look-out of exhibiting the superiority of his strategy. Through the failure in Chalcidice of his admirer Thucydides (whose own want of foresight and energy when he was placed in a difficulty reminds us strongly of the failing that disfigured the character of Nicias), it became clear that the situation in the north-east would cause great trouble. Nicias was more than ever convinced that peace was necessary. In 423 he succeeded in obtaining a truce with Sparta for a year; and in the meantime negotiations were to be continued with a view to a definitive peace. But the new complications which at once arose in Chalcidice forced Athens to send an armament thither during the truce. Nicias himself was in command. He must have known that, unless events should take a more favourable turn, it would be impossible to arrange terms of peace for which he could hope to obtain the ratification of the assembly. He succeeded in recovering Mende, and began the blockade of Scione. But his efforts to restore Athenian prestige in the north did not solve the great difficulty caused by the popularity and success of Brasidas. In the autumn of 423, says Grote, 'the state of sentiment between the contracting parties was not such as to make it possible to treat for any longer peace, or to conclude any new agreement.'

Matters were now at a deadlock, and the hopes of the peace party, which had burned so brightly since the battle of Delium, seemed in danger of being extinguished. The assembly again began to pay heed to Cleon's argument, that it was idle to



continue to treat for peace until the Northern Question was solved. Grote argues forcibly that in urging the despatch of a new force to Chalcidice in the summer of 422, Cleon held precisely the language which had been uttered by Pericles himself at the beginning of the war, and was only insisting on the necessity of the preservation of the empire. This is true. But the dispute now was between a war and a peace party. The peace party supposed that further interference would at once bring the negotiations to an end. The present conditions were in no way similar to the conditions under which Pericles had given his advice. *He* had spoken at the outset of the war: but now negotiations were in progress for ending the war. Is it certain that, given the circumstances of 422, Pericles would have urged an expedition to the north?

To decide which statesman was in the right is unnecessary. It is enough to point out that Nicias believed this to be a case which called for diplomacy, while Cleon was convinced that nothing could be done except by force of arms.

Cleon's mission to the north forwarded the negotiations for peace in a very unexpected manner. Both he and Brasidas fell before Amphipolis, and thus 'the two most pronounced individual opponents of peace' were removed once for all. After a winter spent in continual negotiation, the representatives of Athens and Sparta signed the Peace in the spring of 421.

With what joy the rural population of Attica greeted this result, to the attainment of which every act of Nicias had been consecrated for the last six years, may be imagined from the play of Aristophanes

which is named after the peace. Some even improved the occasion by attacking the memory of Pericles. 'He had been the cause of the war; but Nicias had brought it to an end.' Thucydides himself, who must have seen, one would suppose, that there were grave difficulties still to be faced, seems to have thought that the war was over. And he had in his place of exile better means than most men of surveying the political situation. To the oppressed population of Attica, almost ruined by ten years of continuous warfare, the peace meant nothing less than a renewal of life itself. Perpetual liability to be called out on active service, perpetual dread of invasion and the consequent loss of home and means of support, the possibility that another plague might carry off those who were not slain by the enemy,—all these evils were now at an end. But perhaps the most universally appreciated of all the blessings that Nicias had conferred on his countrymen was the financial recovery. He had indeed throughout his contests with Cleon and Alcibiades this great advantage—that his policy was a policy of *retrenchment*: whereas their policy meant continually increasing burdens. The property-tax, which had been levied for the last six years, was now no more required. A surplus would soon begin again to accumulate in the Acropolis: the docks would once more be filled with ships in reserve: the fleet would be restored to its normal strength: the price of food would decline: and security and plenty, so long missed, would return to the homesteads of Attica. No longer the trumpet note, but again—at last—the cock-crow only would sound the *réveillé*: at last undisturbed the spider might weave



its web about the rusty spear-heads.<sup>1</sup> Giving expression to such thoughts in rustic songs, the farmers, who in ordinary times cared little about politics and were glad to be rid of the necessity of attending assemblies in the city, were loudest in their praise of Nicias.

He had in truth reason to felicitate himself: for he seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition—to have made sure of ‘leaving behind a name as one who had never endangered the state.’ Had he died in 421, we should cease to wonder why, almost a century later, most men regarded him as a father of his country, and why, after his death, Thucydides bestowed on his grave all his tears and all his flowers.

But no sooner was the peace signed than the troubles of the government began. Nicias had not in the first instance obtained from Sparta terms which could be regarded as favourable to Athens. But that was overlooked in the enthusiasm of the moment. All the more bitter must have been the disappointment of the assembly when Nicias proved unequal to the task of securing from Sparta the fulfilment of the conditions. It is not surprising that alliance with Argos, which was a traditional maxim of Athenian diplomacy, and which now became possible, was eagerly canvassed by a considerable party under the leadership of Alcibiades, the new opponent of the peace.

We may be sure that the rural population continued to revere Nicias throughout the two years which followed the peace. But in the assembly the new policy attempted by Alcibiades made rapid

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Pax*.

headway. There Nicias was quite unequal to the task of combating such a consummate wire-puller as Alcibiades. It is among the strangest phenomena of Athenian politics that Alcibiades, who, Grote tells us, 'never inspired confidence or esteem in any one,' whom 'sooner or later so much accumulated odium and suspicion was sure to bring to ruin,' was yet able to carry the majority of the assembly with him. But we know very little of the means by which the political caucuses were in the habit of 'working' the assembly. Nicias was apparently not elected war minister in 420. We hardly need the help of fragments of comedies to lead us to the conclusion that, in spite of Alcibiades, Nicias was still head of a very large minority, and might at any moment again find his party in a majority, should Alcibiades fail to fulfil expectation. In spite of the new alliance with Argos, the peace of Nicias was still technically observed. Party-feeling ran higher than ever in the assembly, and, in the absence of Alcibiades, there was but little to choose between the young men who shouted at Nicias and the old school that still believed in him.

10 So keen was the struggle of parties at the beginning of 418, that it was resolved in the sixth 'prytany' to have recourse to 'ostracism.' That expedient had not been resorted to since the ostracism of Damonides, the friend and adviser of Pericles. Alcibiades had not the constant support of the extreme democrats, and it should seem that his dislike of their leader Hyperbolus was as vehement as that felt for the demagogue by Nicias himself. A coalition was effected between the supporters of Nicias and the younger men who looked to Alcibiades, and

this coalition secured the ostracism of Hyperbolus. Very shortly after this strange event the election of war-ministers was held for the official year which would begin in July 418. Consequently no force was sent into Peloponnese when the campaign opened. In July, however, Alcibiades was sent as ambassador to Argos; and the result of this mission was the defeat of the allies at Mantinea.

We hear nothing further of the public life of Nicias until the discussions in the assembly, during the early part of 415, with reference to the embassy which had come to Athens from Segesta in the winter. The Sicilian command was the first really difficult business entrusted to him outside Attica. But he had hitherto been successful in all his military undertakings. That he should afterwards fail so utterly in Sicily must have occasioned very great astonishment at Athens, where, owing to his previous good fortune, some confidence was felt in his military skill.

It is well to realise exactly what Thucydides means by 'the good luck of Nicias in military commands,' because it is a matter on which there has been a considerable amount of loose writing. *πλεῖστα τῶν τότε εἶ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις*, and again, *ἕως ὃ Νικίας εὐτυχῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι*—what is the precise significance of these expressions? First we must notice that by *στρατηγία* Thucydides means something more than *στρατεία*. Whenever a man is war-minister, he is *ἐν στρατηγία*, even though he does not leave Athens at all. This is due to the peculiarity of the Athenian constitution, according to which the war-ministers in the fifth century were at once the chief administrative and the chief executive officials. Now it is in his account of

the causes which led to the Peace of 421, that Thucydides uses the first of these two expressions with regard to Nicias. He was then, according to the historian, the most successful of all those who had held the office of war-minister. That his achievements outside Attica were not of great importance we have already seen. Yet may we reasonably doubt whether any who had been elected to the ministry had in 421 a reputation equal to that of Nicias. Demosthenes—‘the abler officer,’ it is true—had won victories far greater than anything Nicias had done in the field; but then he had in his first year of office committed a serious mistake in Aetolia, which involved a heavy loss of Athenian troops. His policy was brilliant but it was unsafe: Nicias, on the contrary, was always safe. It seems too that an unbroken series of small successes was thought at Athens at least as much of as a chequered career in which defeat mingled with splendid victories. Cleon does not concern us; for he was not war-minister till July 422, and then he was killed in Thrace; his mission to Sphacteria had been quite extraordinary and should accordingly be left out of account.

But there are indications that the reputation of Nicias as a minister rested rather upon his *political* action than upon his military achievements. He had by 421 convinced the majority at Athens that, however great the victories won by Demosthenes, peace was the only cure for the troubles of the state. This is a fact which admits of no dispute. To the party of Nicias—that is, to the peace party, now in the majority—belonged Thucydides. He was persuaded that the course which Nicias had throughout



pursued was the right course. It is therefore unreasonable to charge the historian with misrepresentation when he calls Nicias in 421 the most successful war-minister of the day. One need not be among the 'random panegyrists' of Thucydides to maintain that. To be sure, he writes with a strong party bias, and sometimes as a man would be apt to write who had lived among the persons whom he described. But he narrates their actions honestly; that is to say, in accordance with his convictions. That his view was endorsed by large bodies of men in the fourth century is clear from the passage of Aristotle.

During the Archidamian war the Athenian people exaggerated the value of success. Their power had been gained by such phenomenal rapidity: their statesmen had been so consummate: they were so clearly the first people in the Greek world, except only as soldiers. No wonder that they thought they *must* succeed in all that they attempted. It needed all the experience of the Sicilian expedition to teach them that they were not infallible. Therefore they greatly valued a minister who could show a series of successes, however slight, unbroken by failure. In Nicias the constant anxiety to succeed was not backed by sufficient strength either of body or of mind to enable him to overcome real difficulties. But as he bodes forth to us that eagerness to succeed in everything, which is so characteristic of the volatile Athenians, he seems—to adopt another of Mill's suggestive remarks—one of the successive phases in which Athens appears to us; he reflects what was perhaps the most prominent quality—defect, perhaps, though an amiable defect—in the character of his contemporaries. They liked him because he reflected

them. He had persuaded himself and the people that he was under the special care of the gods. One half suspects that Alcibiades was laughing at this foible of the Athenians when he urged them to make the most of Nicias *ὥς ἐβτυχῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι*. For these words are doubtless the genuine words of Alcibiades, spoken in 415. The gods had not been quite constant to Nicias since the peace was signed: and perhaps their late fickleness increased the devout man's anxiety about the expedition to Sicily.

The conduct of Nicias in Sicily subsequent to the landing of Gylippus is without excuse. He is 'the author of the whole calamity.' But let us remember that the government at home knew what it was about when it retained Nicias in the command in spite of himself. Nicias is the immediate cause of the calamity; but is not Thucydides in a sense right in declaring that the failure was due to the folly of the home government? If he preferred to lay the blame on the men who ought to have recalled Nicias, and ought not to have recalled Alcibiades, rather than on the unfortunate minister with whom he sympathised, we must hesitate to find fault with the historian's judgment. He is only tracing back results to their original causes, after his own fashion. And after all, had Nicias been listened to, the expedition would never have been undertaken.

Only those who have suffered from diseases similar to the distressing malady which oppressed Nicias in his last years know how much allowance must be made for him owing to his illness. It is a malady which, while it does not totally disable the patient, yet renders him incapable of prolonged or violent exertion. Its intensity is increased sensibly and



immediately with every fresh effort, whether physical or mental. It enfeebles the will: it induces pessimism, even in a character before buoyant. On a man naturally nervous, as Nicias was, its effects are especially distressing. I sometimes think that the retreat of Nicias in his state of health was an extraordinary act of heroism and endurance; and it is just here, in the narrative which Thucydides gives of the retreat, that I feel some misgiving about the historian's veracity. From what one reads in Plutarch and in Pausanias, it does seem possible that Thucydides has here suppressed something.

The trait in Nicias' character which is most obvious of all is his superstition. For him, as indeed for all Athenians with the exception of an emancipated few, human life was no strict succession of cause and effect. Rather life was a 'colossal riddle,' to which there was a hidden solution which the gods had revealed to certain chosen servants—the diviners; and they in their turn were privileged to purvey the secret to pious enquirers who brought the required gift. Nicias, with his constant anxiety to know before acting what would be the result of his action, was oppressed more than most men by the puzzling enigma. He must find help. Hence his naïve faith in oracles and divination. He had his own prophets continually about him. Stilbides, one of the most reputed prophets of the day, was his chief confessor, and went with him to Sicily. If ever he failed, some god must be angry—the Eleusinian deities (one might think with Diodorus) when he failed in Sicily. When he succeeded, his success was due not to his own foresight, or power, or skill, but to the pleasure which the gods

found in his offerings. For, like coquettes, the gods could be coaxed with costly presents into bestowing their favours on him. Now it was a bridge for Delos, with fantastic drapery of flowers and tapestry and cloth of gold; now an endowment to provide for sacrifice and a dinner for the island-folk that they might remember him when they prayed to the god; now a huge column of brass for Phoebus himself, wrought into the likeness of a tall palm. But alas! either the brazen tree did not take the god's fancy, or else it roused the jealousy of some less courted divinity: for one day a cruel wind arose and threw it down.

Ominous collapse! For, sooner or later, that controlling power which Thucydides calls *τέλχη*, and which is above all the gods, demands from man satisfaction for every weakness. For his weakness Nicias paid a hard price at the end of the Sicilian expedition. Well might the emancipated few chaff Nicias. Aristophanes introduced him into his play called *Amphiaræus*, which was produced in 414. There Nicias was a superstitious invalid, enquiring of the oracle how he might regain his health. In better taste Thucydides, who was of course a complete sceptic with regard to divination, censured the superstition of Nicias—not sternly, it is true; but perhaps he went as far as he thought it safe to go in those days. For the license allowed to comedy was not extended to prose; and Thucydides was not defending a principle against his countrymen. Still, while he, with his clearer insight, despised superstition, he yet had the utmost veneration for the real virtue of the man. It was peculiarly hard that one who had lived so good a life, one whose whole

ambition was summed up in the one word εὐτυχία, should experience such terrible δυστυχία at the end. We have no words in our tongue at all corresponding to these three terms—τύχη, εὐτυχία, δυστυχία—which play such an important part in Thucydides. But we can now understand better why the historian says of him ἥκιστα δὲ ἄξιός ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι, — why he reserves his flowers for Nicias' tomb.

A beautiful picture is presented by ancient writers of the private life of Nicias: and though his amiability cannot excuse his shortcomings as a public leader, it at least affords a further explanation of the fidelity with which large classes of Athenians clung to his memory. We can be brief here, because there is neither doubt nor difficulty about the matter. The most striking notice—and the most attractive—which we have of him is contained in the description which Euripides gives of Capaneus in the *Suppliants*. The character, so strangely altered from the character which Aeschylus attributes to Capaneus in the *Seven against Thebes*, is sketched from Nicias:

There Capaneus lies. Great store of wealth was his,  
Wealth without pride of riches. For his heart  
Was lowly as the poor man's: but, if any,  
Flouting the warnings of sufficiency,  
Wax'd riotous and immoderate at the feast,  
Him he disdained. For not in surfeiting  
Lay goodness; but plain living gave content.  
Few men remember absent friends: but he,  
Present or absent, was a loyal friend.  
True man he was, and, whether to his own  
Or to the citizens he promised aught,  
Prompt to redeem his promise. —

There could scarcely be a better comment on the difficult words διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν.

I have made no attempt to disguise the faults of Nicias. It is one of the greatest services rendered by Grote that he for the first time presented a truer picture of Cleon and Nicias in public life. But, as so often happens to enthusiasts, he went, I think, too far in his attack on Nicias through his eagerness to defend Cleon. I have only endeavoured to show that Thucydides and Aristotle are not mere 'random panegyrists' of Nicias—that they were standing on solid ground, even if they were in the wrong Paradise. Had Nicias been a stronger man, his peace might have been lasting. His intentions were excellent; and, in the largest sense, his policy—to avoid Sicily and to make peace with Sparta—was certainly the right policy for Athens. But as a diplomatist he was mediocre; or, at most, he was not insolently superior to the ordinary Athenian citizen. And this moderate superiority is, after all, the secret of his popularity among the political mediocrities. Unfortunately, painstaking and in many respects sane, he had none of the coarser qualities necessary to a statesman. His very virtues, his transparent honesty, told fatally against him in diplomacy; and it seems as if he was too anxious to introduce the ethics of private life into international politics.



### § 3. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT OF THE SEVENTH BOOK

THE chief MSS. of Thucydides are as follows :—

#### 1. VATICAN GROUP.

B or *Vaticanus*. XIth century. Vatican Library.

A or *Cisalpinus* or *Italus*. XIIth century. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Lost from 1815 to 1869, when it was rediscovered by R. Prinz (*Cod. Italus*, N. Jahrb.)

E or *Palatinus*. XIth century. Heidelberg.

F or *Augustanus*. Dated 1301. Munich.

Observe also that *Parisinus* H, one of ten MSS. in the Paris Library collated by Gail in 1807, was copied from B. H ends at vii. 49 ; but from vi. 92, 5 to vii. 49 it is the only MS. which gives the *peculiar version* of the text which we read in B from vi. 92, 5 onwards.

#### 2. LAURENTIAN GROUP.

C or *Laurentianus*. Xth century. Florence.

G or *Monacensis*. XIIIth century. Munich. The top is eaten away throughout.

#### 3. THE BRITISH MS., agreeing sometimes with group 1, sometimes with 2.

M or *Britannus*. XIth century. vi. vii. viii. collated by Bloomfield ; viii. by Herwerden ; the whole by Eggeling for Stahl. A new collation of vii. is contained in this edition. The MS. is very disappointing considering its antiquity.

It is not possible to decide whether B or C is the best MS. ; Bekker pronounced in favour of the



Vatican, but during the last fifteen years several critics supported the claims of the Laurentian. But all three classes go back to one MS. now lost, which was itself not very ancient. In 1885 Wessely discovered the famous FAYOUM FRAGMENTS of viii. 91 and 92 in Upper Egypt (*Wiener Studien* vii.) These bits are believed to be part of a MS. of the *first century* A.D. Consequently they are some nine centuries older than the Laurentian, from which however they only differ in orthography and in the order of words. They are unfortunately too scanty to support any theory with regard to the condition of the text as a whole.

The study of the MSS. of this book leads to the following conclusions.

I. There are two versions of the text of this book. As far as vi. 92 all the MSS. are in substantial agreement. But from vi. 92, 5 to the end of the history, B differs greatly from all the rest. (1) B frequently adds one or more words—especially  $\tau\epsilon$ —not found in other MSS.; (2) frequently B gives a different word or form; (3) occasionally B omits something found in the other MSS.

II. On the whole the balance is decidedly in favour of B. The alterations in the text which are obtained from it are generally elegant, especially the additions. In many cases B alone gives the true reading.

III. It is probable that the scribe of B used a different MS. from vi. 92, 5 onwards; and this MS. was on the whole better than that which he had been using up to this point.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1885, Wilamowitz - Moellendorf, the accomplished author and editor, published an ingenious pamphlet intended

IV. The readings of B have to be considered in every case in which the MS. differs from the rest: no general rule can be given. Some of the readings are suspiciously like ingenious corrections made by the scribe himself: some additions are probably interpolations.

V. With the help of B the text of this book is made considerably better than the text of earlier books, such as the second and the fourth. Even without B the text would be somewhat better; for there are (1) fewer interpolations; (2) fewer confusions of case and construction. This superiority is in part due to Thucydides himself; since this book is manifestly more polished than some other parts<sup>1</sup> of the history, and the style is smoother. It to prove (1) that according to the ancient division of Thucydides into *thirteen* books, the *tenth* begins where B and Paris H begin to differ from the other MSS., and that the scribe of B used a MS. divided according to this older system from this point; (2) that Thucydides left his work even more incomplete than is generally supposed, and that a dull editor patched it up after his death. With regard to (1), W.-M. makes the *eleventh* book end with the end of our vii. The statement that there was a division into thirteen books is made by Marcellinus; and traces of such an arrangement are found in the margin of existing MSS. In Diodorus vii. 37 ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης γέγραφεν ἐν βιβλοῖς ὀκτώ (H), ὡς δὲ τινες διαιροῦσιν, ἐννέα (Θ), W.-M. supposes H to be a corruption of N, and that both N and Θ are here really *letters*, not *numbers*; so that N represents a division into *thirteen* lettered books, and Θ a division into *eight* lettered books. Unfortunately it is likely enough that H is right, and that Diodorus means that some reckon the eight books by *numbers* down to H, others by *letters* down to Θ—which appears from existing MSS. to be a true statement. (2) The editor theory has given rise to a very dull and profitless controversy. In fact, there are three phantom editors now, of whom one is stupid and another pious, one contemporary with Thucydides and another much later.

<sup>1</sup> Cwiklinski (*Hermes* xii. 1877) attempts to prove that Thucydides at first wrote vi. and vii. as a separate work. He

is partly due to the ancient annotators; for, finding the text easier to follow, they added fewer glosses, and hence there was less danger of the text becoming interpolated with notes from the margin.

VI. There is thus less need of conjectural emendation in this than in earlier books.

VII. The fact that B continually supplies a small word not found in other MSS. is strong evidence that a small word is frequently lost altogether in the *earlier* books; and editors ought to take this into account in emending the text. It is also highly probable that now and then a single word is still missing in the text of vii. An attempt is made in the present edition to supply these words.

The current text is based on Bekker's critical edition,<sup>1</sup> which first appeared in 1821 and entirely superseded 'the Vulgate,' that is, the text of Stephanus (second edition 1588). The following list gives most variations of the present edition from Bekker's text, and it is added because Bekker is the earliest and in some respects the greatest of modern textual critics. He settled once for all which were the most important MSS. then known, and he first collated B<sup>C</sup>A<sup>E</sup>. Of the other good MSS. F had already been collated, and G was collated for

is answered by Fischer (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, 1881), who argues forcibly that vi. and vii. are integral parts of the whole work. Few will agree with Schröter (*ad Thuc. vii. quaest. phil.* 1886), that the Seventh Book is imperfect and accordingly must be leniently criticised.

<sup>1</sup> J. BEKKER. *Thucydides de b. P. l. viii. Accedunt scholia Graeca et Dukeri Wassique annotationes*, 3 vols. Berlin. In the same year the book was also published at Oxford in 4 vols., including the Latin version of Aemilius Portus. The subsequent editions of Bekker's text appeared in 1824, 1832, 1846, 1868. Bekker died in 1871.

Poppo. Those passages in the list to which an asterisk is prefixed illustrate *very common* blunders in the MSS. of Thucydides. No account is taken of those conjectures of Bekker himself which are now rejected. Those of the present editor's own conjectures which are admitted into the text are given in a separate list. It appeared best to pass over in silence all conjectures which seemed unnecessary or improbable. [ ] denote words cut out, < > words added to the text.

## LECTIO BEKKERI, A.D. 1868.

LECTIO CRITORUM in hac  
editione reposita.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 2, 3. Γέτα.<br>τό τε.<br>πρὸς τὰς with <i>Vat.</i>                          | Ἰετὰς Göller.<br>τότε τι <i>Vat.</i><br>ἐς τὰς.            |
| * 4. τοῦτο καιροῦ.<br>κατελείπετο.  | τοῦτο τοῦ κ. <i>Vat.</i><br>κατελέλειπτο Cobet.            |
| * 3, 1. προπέμπει.<br>3. ἐαυτοῦ.<br>5. τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι with<br><i>Vat.</i> | προσπέμπει <i>Vat.</i><br>ἐαυτῶν <i>Vat.</i><br>τῷ λιμένι. |
| 4, 4. τῷ τῶν Σῦρακοσίων.<br>5. ἐξετείχιζε with Steph.                       | del. Krüger.<br>ἐξετείχισε MSS., Ald.                      |
| 6, 1. προέλθοι.   | παρέλθοι Classen.  |
| 7, 2. πεζὴν with <i>Vat.</i>  | πεζικὴν.   |
| * 8, 3. κατὰ τὸ with <i>Vat.</i>  | τὰ κατὰ τὸ.  |
| 10. γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πό-<br>λεως with <i>Vat.</i>                           | γραμματεὺς [τῆς π.] Her-<br>werden.                        |
| 11. πολλὰς om. with <i>Vat.</i><br>2. ἀπὸ om. with <i>Vat.</i>              | πολλὰς.<br>ἀπὸ.  |
| 12, 3. ὅπερ with <i>Schol.</i>  | ἤπερ.  |
| * 13, 2. ναυτῶν τῶν.  | ναυτῶν [τῶν] Poppo.  |
| 14, 3. διαπεπολεμήσεται . . .<br>ὁ πόλεμος.                                 | δ. . . . [ὁ π.] Krüger.                                    |
| 15, 1. βουλεύεσθε.  | βουλεύσασθε <i>Vat.</i>                                    |



- 16, 2. εἴκοσι.  
 18, 2. γένοιτο.  
 19, 2. καὶ οὐ πολλῶ πλέον.  
 4. ἐξ αὐτῆς.  
 \*20, 1. Ἀργείων τε.  
 \* 3. ὑπελείπετο.  
 \*21, 2. κατεργάσασθαι.  
 3. ξυνέπειθε.  
 \* ἐπιχειρήσειν.  
 [ἀν] αὐτοῖς.  
 \*22, 1. παρεσκεύασατο.  
 24, 2. τριηράρχων.  
 \* 3. τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν.  
 τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς.  
 \*25, 1. φράσωσιν, ἐποτρύνωσι.  
 6. ἀνέκλων (ANEKLON).  
 \*26, 2. οἱ Εἰλωτες τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων.  
 27, 1. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ.  
 2. ἐς Θράκην.  
 ἐλάμβανεν.  
 28, 4. ἐποίησαν.  
 29, 4. τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν.  
 30, 1. τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ.  
 2. τοῦ ζεύγματος.  
 33, 3. ἐπέσχοντο.  
 4. τῶν Ἰαπύγων.  
 34, 1. προανεχούσαις with  
 Vat.  
 7. δι' αὐτὸ.  
 36, 3. ἀντίπρωροι.  
 4. διεκπλεῖν.  
 \*38, 1. καὶ.  
 39, 2. μεταναστήσαντας ἐπὶ  
 τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσαι  
 with Vat.
- εἴκοσι <καὶ ἑκατὸν> Valla.  
 ἐγένετο Brit.  
 del. Hude.  
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς Vat.  
 τε del. Reiske.  
 ὑπελέλειπτο Stahl.  
 κατεργάσεσθαι Stahl.  
 ξυνανέπειθε Laur. Mon.  
 Steph. (ξυναναπειθε Vat.  
 Ald.)  
 ἐπιχειρήσαι Dobree.  
 ἀν [αὐτοῖς] Badham.  
 παρεσκεύαστο inferior MSS.  
 τῶν τριηράρχων Vat.  
 τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Vat.  
 del. Porro.  
 φράσουσιν, -νοῦσι Dobree.  
 ἀνεῖλκον (ANEKLON) Wid-  
 mann.  
 τῶν Λακ. del. Herwerden.  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ θ. τ. Vat.  
 del. Bothe.  
 ἐλάμβανον Vat.  
 ἐπέθεσαν Badham.  
 del. Stahl.  
 del. Stahl.  
 τοξεύματος Valla.  
 ἐπέσχον τὸ Laur. Brit.  
 del. Herwerden.  
 ἀνεχούσαις.  
 αὐτοὶ Classen (αὐτὸ Vat.)  
 ἀντιπρώροις Reiske.  
 διεκπλουν Vat.  
 del. Classen.  
 παρὰ τ. θ. μεταστῆσαι κομί-  
 σαντας.



- 43, 5. τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης. ἀπὸ τ. π. τὸ Göller.
- \*44, 8. οἱ πολλοὶ. πολλοὶ Bloomfield.
- 45, 2. ψιλοὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἀσπί- ἄνευ τῶν ἀ. *del.* Haacke.  
δων.
46. ὑπαγάγοιτο. ἐπαγάγοιτο Pluygers.
- 47, 2. ὅτι ἀνέλπιστα. [ὅτι] ἀ. *It.*
3. διακινδυνεύσαι. διεκινδύνευσεν *Vat. Laur.*  
ἀπιέναι with *Vat.* ἐξιέναι.
- 48, 3. ἀκούσαντας. ἀκούοντας *Vat.*  
διαβάλλοι. διαβάλλη Stahl.
6. ὥς. ὦν *Vat.*
- 49, 1. [που] τὸ. πολὺ τὸ Linwood.  
ἦ. ἦ Stahl.  
θαρσῆσει. ἐθάρσει Gertz (ἐθάρσησε *Vat.*)
2. αὐτοῦς. αὐτοῦ Krüger.
- 50, 1. ἐς φίλια. φίλια Bauer (ἐς φίλια *Vat.*)
2. ὅθεν πρὸς Σικελίαν. ὅθενπερ Σικελία Böhme.
- 51, 1. ἐγγηγερμένοι. ἐπηρμένοι *Vat.*
2. προτεράλα with *Vat.* προτέρα.
- 52, 2. καὶ μυχῶ. *del.* Bothe.
- 53, 4. τὴν ναῦν. *del.* Bothe.
- 55, 2. κρείσσους. κρείσσονος *Schol.*
- \*56, 2. κωλύσωσι with *Vat.* κωλύσουνσι *Laur.*
3. μόνον bis. μόνων Stahl and μόνοι Madvig.  
μέρος. *del.* Krüger.
4. λόγου. ὅχλου Krüger.
- 57, 1. Συρακούσας. -αις Bauer.
- ἐκάστοις. ἑκαστοὶ *Vat.*
- ἔσχεν. ἔσχον Ald.
2. Ἑστίαίαν οἰκοῦντες. *del.* Krüger.
5. καταντικρὺ. καὶ ἀντικρὺς Böhme.
9. ἄκοντας. ἐκόντας *Vat.*
11. κατειλημμένων. κατειλημμένοι Reiske.
- 58, 3. δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδα- *del.* Portus.  
μῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη  
εἶναι.
- 59, 2. τε οὖν. δ' οὖν Krüger.
- 60, 2. ἀσθενούσιν with *Vat.* ἀσθενέσιν.

- 62, 3. ἀντιναυπηγήσαι with ἀντιναυπηγεῖσθαι.  
*Vat.*
- \*63, 3. ὑμῶν with best MSS. ἡμῶν.
- 67, 1. τδ. τοῦ Krüger.
4. ἀποκινδυνεύσει. ἀποκινδυνεύσαι Duker.
- 69, 2. ἦν. *del. Vat.*
- 70, 1. παραβοήθῃ. παρεβοήθει Dion. Hal.
2. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. οἱ ἄλλοι A., Laur.
3. ὅτε. ὁπότε *Vat.*
8. Ἀθηναίους. *del. Duker.*
- 71, 2. διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ διὰ τὸ <ἀνώμαλον> τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν  
 τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυ-  
 μαχίας.  
 4. ὅσα. Wölfflin.
- 72, 2. ἐβούλοντο with *Vat.* ἐβουλεύοντο Laur.
- 73, 1. διαλαβόντας with *Vat.* προφθάσαντας Laur. [προλα-  
 βεῖν is the regular scholiast's  
 gloss on φθάνειν.]
- 75, 6. ἀφῖκτο. ἀφίκατο Badham.
- 77, 4. θεοῦ. θείου Krüger.
6. ἄλλα. ἄμα Reiske.
- 78, 3. τε. *del. Krüger.*
- 79, 1. ἐλθεῖν. *del. Krüger.*
- 80, 3. ἀπὸ. *del. Reiske.*
5. μετεπέμψαντο with μετέπεμψαν Laur.  
*Vat.*
- 81, 3. ὅσα ἀναγκάζονται with ὅσ' ἂν Dobree. ἀναγκάζονται  
*Vat.* Laur.
4. Ἀθηναῖοι. *del. Krüger.*
- 82, 1. γοῦν. δ οὖν Dobree.
- 85, 1. χρησθαι. χρήσασθαι *Vat.*
4. Σικελικῶ. *del. Dobree.* [The Schol. pro-  
 poses Ἑλληνικῶ.]
- 87, 2. τοιούτῳ. τῷ τοιούτῳ *Vat.*
5. Ἑλληνικόν. *del. Krüger.*

## LECTIO BEKKERI.

LECTIO AB EDITORE PRIMO  
REPOSITA.

- 2, 4. τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύ-  
κλου.  
7, 1. μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου  
τείχους.  
3. τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐν ὁλκάσιν  
ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως  
ἂν προχωρῇ.  
8, 3. οὓς ἀπέστειλε.  
21, 3. ἐπιχειρήσειν πρὸς τοὺς  
Ἀθηναίους, λέγων.  
28, 3. τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦς.  
ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς . . .  
οἱ μὲν.  
ὥστε.  
31, 4. καταλύουσι τὸν πόλε-  
μον.  
48, 3. περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν.  
49, 1. γενέσθαι.  
κρατηθεῖς.  
56, 4. πολέμῳ.  
57, 5. μετὰ Συρακοσίων.  
68, 1. καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον πού  
ἥδιστον εἶναι.  
69, 4. παραλειφθέντα.  
75, 6. ἢ ἄλλῃ.
- τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ <ἄνω> τοῦ κύ-  
κλου.  
μέχρι <τοῦ Εὐρυήλου> τοῦ ἐ.  
τείχους.  
τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐνῇ, ὁλκάσιν ἢ  
πλοίοις, κ.τ.λ.  
*del.*  
ἐπιχειρήσαι (Dobree), πρὸς τοὺς  
Ἀ. λέγων.  
τό γ' ἂν, αὐτοῦς.  
ὅσον <οἱ μὲν> κατ' ἀρχὰς . . .  
οἱ μὲν.  
οἱ δὲ. [See *Appendix II.*]  
κατοκνοῦσι τὸν π. Cf. VIII. 12,  
1 ἀποκνήσαι τὸν πλοῦν.  
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.  
ἐνδίδοσθαι.  
*del.*  
πολέμῳ <πολεμοῦντος>.  
*del.*  
καί, τὸ λεγόμενον πού, ἥδιστον  
εἶναι.  
παρακλησθέντα.  
ἢ <τ'> ἄλλῃ.

No attempt has been made to supply a complete *apparatus criticus* for this edition. The editor believes such compilations to be generally of small value in a text-book. He has also recorded in the footnotes only such conjectures as seem to him in some way instructive.

## NOTE

THE Greek Index has been prepared with the object of providing readers with a conspectus of Thucydidean diction—*ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀτθίς*—so far as it is to be gathered from this book. The Index is therefore a catalogue of words and idioms that should be found useful both for syntax and for composition. A few brief notes have been added, which may increase the value of the catalogue for those who will use it.

## ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

## ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Ζ.

1 Ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ὁ Πυθὴν ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος,  
 ἐπεὶ ἐπεσκέυασαν τὰς ναῦς, παρέ-  
 πλευσαν ἐς Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἐπιζε-  
 φυρίους· καὶ πυνθανόμενοι σαφέστε-  
 ρον ἤδη ὅτι οὐ παντελῶς πω ἀπο-  
 τετειχισμένοι αἱ Συράκουσαι εἰσιν,  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι οἷόν τε κατὰ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς  
 στρατιᾷ ἀφικομένους ἐσελθεῖν, ἐβου-  
 λεύοντο εἴτ' ἐν δεξιᾷ λαβόντες τὴν  
 Σικελίαν διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐσπλεῦ-  
 σαι, εἴτ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Ἱμέραν πρῶτον πλεύσαν-  
 τες καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην  
 προσλαβόντες, οὓς ἂν πείθωσι, κατὰ γῆν ἔλθωσι.  
 2 καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇς Ἱμέρας πλεῖν, ἄλλως τε  
 καὶ τῶν Ἀπτικῶν τεσσάρων νεῶν οὐπω παρουσῶν 15  
 ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, ἃς ὁ Νικίας ὅμως, πυνθανόμενος  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν Λοκροῖς εἶναι, ἀπέστειλε. φθάσαντες  
 δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην περαιοῦνται διὰ τοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ, καὶ σχόντες Ῥηγίῳ καὶ Μεσσήνῃ

EXTRACTS FROM  
 GROTE'S  
 HISTORY.

'Gylippus, on  
 arriving at  
 Himera as com- 5  
 mander named  
 by Sparta, and  
 announcing him-  
 self as fore-  
 runner of  
 Peloponnesian  
 reinforcements,  
 met with a  
 hearty welcome.'

10

1. ἐπεσκέυασαν] ἐπαρεσκέυασαν M. — πανστρατιᾷ M.



3 ἀφικνουῦνται ἐς Ἱμέραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντες τοὺς τε 20

'The Himeraeans agreed to aid him with a body of hoplites, and to furnish panoplies for the seamen in his vessels.'

Ἱμεραίους ἔπεισαν ξυμπολεμεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε ἔπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν σφετέρων ναύταις ὅσοι μὴ εἶχον ὄπλα παρασχεῖν (τὰς γὰρ ναῦς

ἀνείλκυσαν ἐν Ἱμέρᾳ), καὶ τοὺς Σελινουντίους 25 πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον ἀπαντᾶν πανστρατιᾷ ἐς τι

4 χωρίον. πέμψειν δέ τινα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν καὶ οἱ Γελῶι καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν

'On sending to Selinus, Gela, and some of the Sikel tribes in the interior, he received equally favourable assurances.'

τινες, οἱ πολὺ προθυμότερον προσχωρεῖν ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τοῦ τε Ἀρχωνίδου 30 νεωστὶ τεθνηκότος, ὃς τῶν ταύτῃ Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀδύνατος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλος

ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Γυλίππου ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος προθύμως

5 δοκοῦντος ἤκειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γύλιππος ἀναλαβὼν 35

'He was enabled to undertake this inland march from Himera to Syracuse.'

τῶν τε σφετέρων ναυτῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν τοὺς ὀπλισμένους ἐπτακοσίους μάλιστα, Ἱμεραίους δὲ ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους χιλίους καὶ

ἱππέας ἑκατὸν καὶ Σελινουντίων τέ τινας ψιλοὺς 40 καὶ ἱππέας καὶ Γελῶν ὀλίγους, Σικελῶν τε ἐς χιλίους τοὺς πάντας, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας.

2 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος Κορίνθιοι ταῖς τε

'The Corinthian fleet of 12 triremes was now on its way to Syr. But Gongylus had been detained at

ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ὥς εἶχον τάχους ἐβοήθουν) καὶ Γόγγυλος, εἷς τῶν Κορινθίων ἀρχόντων, μιᾷ νηὶ τελευταῖος ὁρμηθεὶς πρῶτος μὲν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς 5

3. καὶ ὅσοι M; ὅσοι T.—τὰς μὲν M.—στρατιᾷ M.

4. τινα om. M.—τε om. M.

5. ὀπλίτας ψιλοὺς MT; om. καὶ.—τε after Σικελῶν om. M.

τὰς Συρακούσας, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ Γυ-  
λίππου· καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς περὶ  
ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ πολέμου μέλλοντας  
ἐκκλησιάσειν διεκώλυσέ τε καὶ παρε-  
θάρσυνε, λέγων ὅτι νῆές τε ἄλλαι ἔτι  
προσπλέουσι καὶ Γύλιππος ὁ Κλεαν-  
δρίδου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστείλάν-  
2 των ἄρχων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἐπερρώσθη-  
σάν τε καὶ τῷ Γυλίππῳ εὐθὺς πανστρατιᾷ ὥς  
ἀπαντησόμενοι ἐξῆλθον· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἐγγὺς ὄντα 15  
3 ἤσθάνοντο αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰετὰς τότε τι τεῖχος ἐν  
τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν Σικελῶν ἐλών, καὶ ξυνταξάμενος  
ὥς ἐς μάχην ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς· καὶ  
ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ἥπερ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
τὸ πρῶτον, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ 20  
4 τεῖχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἔτυχε δὲ  
κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ ἐλθὼν ἐν ᾧ  
ἐπτα μὲν ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίων ἥδη ἀπετε-  
τέλεστο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὸν μέγαν  
λιμένα διπλοῦν τεῖχος, πλὴν κατὰ  
βραχύ τι τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν  
(τοῦτο δ' ἔτι ὠκοδόμουν)· τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ  
<ἄνω> τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Τρώγιλον ἐπὶ τὴν

Leucas. Yet he  
reached Syr. the  
soonest.—A  
public assembly  
was just about  
to be held to  
sanction a  
definitive capitula-  
tion.' The 10  
Syr. 'instantly  
threw aside all  
idea of capitula-  
tion.'

Gylippus having  
'reached Euryā-  
lus and the  
heights of  
Epipolae above  
Syr.—with his  
new levied force  
enters Syr. un- 25  
opposed,  
through the  
'unaccountable  
inaction of N.'

2

1. ἔτι om. M.

3. γε τότε τὸ τεῖχος M.

4. ἐπετετέλεστο M.—τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ <ἄνω> τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν  
T. I insert ἄνω, on the side of the κύκλος, away from the low  
ground near the Harbour; cf. c. 4 ἀνεβεβήκεσαν ἄνω, c. 60 τὰ  
ἄνω τεῖχη. Thus ἄνω means here 'north of' (or possibly  
merely the higher ground away from the accessible coast);  
τοῦ κύκλου and ἐπὶ . . . θάλασσαν limit ἄνω to a certain part of  
Epipolae, as in c. 4 διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι  
limits it to another part of the same. In vi. 99 κάτωθεν τοῦ

ἐτέραν θάλασσαν λίθοι τε παραβεβλημένοι τῷ πλέονι ἤδη ἦσαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ ἡμίεργα, τὰ δὲ 30 καὶ ἐξειργασμένα κατελέλειπτο. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Συράκουσαι ἦλθον κινδύνου.

- 3 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰφνιδίως τοῦ τε Γύλιππου καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων σφίσιν ἐπιόντων, ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, παρετάξαντο δέ. ὁ δὲ θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐγγὺς κήρυκα προσπέμπει αὐ- 5 τοῖς λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πέντε ἡμερῶν, λαβόντες τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἐτοῖμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀλιγοῖα τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι 10 ἀπέπεμψαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντι- 3 παρεσκευάζοντο ἀλλήλοις ὥς ἐς μάχην. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ὁρῶν τοὺς Συρακοσίους ταρασσομένους καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως ξυντασσομένους, ἐπανῆγε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν μᾶλλον. καὶ 15 ὁ Νικίας οὐκ ἐπῆγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἠσύχαζε πρὸς τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει. ὥς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Γύλιππος οὐ προσιόντας αὐτούς, ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Τεμενίτιν καλουμένην, καὶ αὐτοῦ

κύκλου similarly means 'south,' as Sitzler renders. This is the natural sense for an Athenian of ἡ ἄνω πόλις to attach to the word. So too Grote and Freeman (*Hist. Sic.* iii. 668). Cf. *Intr.* § 1 *end.* <ἀπὸ> τοῦ κύκλου Wölfflin. Grote and Freeman explain τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κ. as for ἐτέρωθι τοῦ κύκλου, an impossible use of τῷ ἄλλῳ. Mr. Goodwin suggests constructing τοῦ κύκλου as dependent on Τρώγιλον.—Τρογιλὸν M.—κατελέλειπτο] κατελίπετο M; κατελείπετο B; corr. Cobet.

4 ἠϋλίσαντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἄγων τὴν μὲν πλεί- 20  
στην τῆς στρατιᾶς παρέταξε πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν  
'Αθηναίων, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν ἄλλοσε, μέρος δέ  
τι πέμψας πρὸς τὸ φρούριον τὸ Λάβ-  
δαλον αἰρεῖ, καὶ ὅσους ἔλαβεν ἐν  
αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν· ἦν δὲ οὐκ 25  
ἐπιφανὲς τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις τὸ χωρίον.  
5 καὶ τριήρης τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀλίσκεται  
τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων  
ἐφορμούσα τῷ λιμένι.

He 'brought them out again next morning, as if about to attack. But while the attention of the A. was thus engaged, he sent a detachment to surprise the fort of L. The enterprise was completely successful.'

4 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτείχιζον οἱ Συρα-  
κόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι διὰ τῶν Ἐπι-  
πολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι  
ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἀπ-  
λοῦν, ὅπως οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ δύν-  
αιντο κωλύσαι, μηκέτι οἰοί τε ὦσιν  
2 ἀποτειχίσαι. καὶ οἱ τε 'Αθηναῖοι  
ἀνεβεβήκεσαν ἤδη ἄνω, τὸ ἐπὶ θα-  
λάσση τεῖχος ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ ὁ  
Γύλιππος (ἦν γάρ τι τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις τοῦ τεῖχους 10  
ἀσθενές) νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπήει  
3 πρὸς αὐτό. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔξω  
αὐλιζόμενοι) ὥς ἦσθοντο, ἀντεπῆσαν· ὁ δὲ γνούς  
κατὰ τάχος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς σφετέρους πάλιν.  
ἐποικοδομήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ὑψηλό- 15  
τερον αὐτοὶ μὲν ταύτῃ ἐφύλασσον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
ξυμμάχους κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχισμα ἤδη διέταξαν  
4 ἥπερ ἔμελλον ἕκαστοι φρουρεῖν. τῷ δὲ Νικία

He immediately began to build 'a third counter-wall, on the north side of the A. circle—at the same time alarming them by threatening attack upon their lower wall—which was now just finished.'

5. ἐφορμῶσα M.

2. ἀναβεβήκεσαν M.—ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσση M.

3. ἀντεπῆσαν M.—ἀπήγαγε twice M pr.



ἐδόκει τὸ Πλημμύριον καλούμενον τειχίσαι· ἔστι

‘N. now saw that hence-forward his operations would be for the most part maritime—he resolved to fortify Cape P.—and to make it a secure main station for the fleet and stores.’

δὲ ἄκρα ἀντιπέρας τῆς πόλεως, ἥπερ 20  
προύχουσα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος τὸ  
στόμα στενὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ εἰ τειχισθεῖη,  
ῥᾶον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο ἢ ἐσκομιδῇ τῶν  
ἐπιτηδείων ἔσεσθαι· δι’ ἐλάσσοнос  
γὰρ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι [τῷ τῶν Συρακο- 25  
σίων] ἐφορμήσειν σφᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ὥσ-

περ νῦν ἐκ μυχοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς  
ποιήσεσθαι, ἣν τι ναυτικῷ κινῶνται. προσεῖχέ  
τε ἤδη μᾶλλον τῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολέμῳ, ὁρῶν  
τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν, ἐπειδὴ Γύλιππος ἤκεν, 30

5 ἀνελπιστότερα ὄντα. διακομίσας οὖν στρατιὰν  
καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξετείχισε τρία φρούρια· καὶ ἐν  
αὐτοῖς τά τε σκευὴ τὰ πλείστα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ  
πλοῖα ἤδη ἐκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα ὥρμει καὶ αἱ ταχεῖαι  
6 νῆες. ὥστε καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων οὐχ ἥκιστα 35  
τότε πρῶτον κάκωσις ἐγένετο· τῷ τε γὰρ ὕδατι

‘Three forts were erected on the sea-board—the station entailed serious disadvantages; for supplies of water, and of wood also, the crews had to range a considerable distance, exposed to surprise from the numerous Syr. cavalry placed

σπανίῳ χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐγγύθεν,  
καὶ ἐπὶ φρυγανισμόν ἅμα ὁπότε ἐξέλ-  
θοιεν οἱ ναῦται, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν  
Συρακοσίων κρατούντων τῆς γῆς 40  
διεφθείροντο. τρίτον γὰρ μέρος τῶν  
ἱππέων τοῖς Συρακοσίοις διὰ τοὺς ἐν  
τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ, ἵνα μὴ κακουργή-  
σοντες ἐξίοιεν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμ-  
πιείῳ πολίχνῃ ἐτετάχατο. ἐπυνθά- 45

4. ῥᾶων C, Hw., Hu. The adv. appears to me more forcible here. Contrast ii. 75, 1 ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην τὴν αἵρεσιν ἔσεσθαι. —[τῷ τῶν Σ.] Kr.—ἐπαγωγὰς M.

5. τὴν στρατιὰν M<sub>2</sub>.



νετο δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Κορινθίων the temple of  
Zeus.  
ναῦς προσπλευούσας ὁ Νικίας· καὶ  
πέμπει ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν εἴκοσι ναῦς, αἷς εἴρητο  
περί τε Λοκροῦς καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν  
τῆς Σικελίας ναυλοχεῖν αὐτάς.

50

5 Ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος ἅμα μὲν ἐτείχιζε τὸ διὰ τῶν  
Ἐπιπολῶν τεῖχος, τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενος οὓς οἱ  
Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεβάλλοντο σφίσιν, ἅμα δὲ παρ-  
έτασσε ἐξάγων αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος τοὺς  
Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους· καὶ οἱ 5

2 Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδοξε

τῷ Γυλίππῳ καιρὸς εἶναι, ἤρχε τῆς  
ἐφόδου· καὶ ἐν χερσὶ γενόμενοι ἐμά-  
χοντο μεταξὺ τῶν τειχισμάτων, ἥ τῆς  
ἵππου τῶν Συρακοσίων οὐδεμία χρήσις 10

3 ἦν. καὶ νικηθέντων τῶν Συρακοσίων  
καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ νεκροὺς ὑπο-  
σπόνδους ἀνελομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀθη-  
ναίων τροπαῖον στησάντων, ὁ Γύλιπ-  
πος ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα οὐκ  
ἔφη τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἐκείνων ἀλλ'  
ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι· [τῆς γὰρ ἵππου  
καὶ τῶν ἀκουτιστῶν τὴν ὠφελίαν τῇ  
τάξει ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν τειχῶν ποιήσας  
ἀφελέσθαι· νῦν οὖν αὐθις ἐπάξειν. 15

4 καὶ διανοεῖσθαι οὕτως ἐκέλευεν αὐ-  
τοὺς ὥς τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔξοντας,  
20

7. πέμπει ἐς φυλακὴν . . . ναῦς] Contrast ii. 26 ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν  
Εὐβοίας φυλακὴν. Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 562 φωνὰς ἰέντων εἰς ἀπό-  
φευξιν; Andoc. ii. 23 διδόντας εἰς χρήματα δωρεάς.

5 1. ἀντεπαρετάσσοντο M. 2. τῷ om. M. 3. ἐπανήξειν M.

τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐσόμενον εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι  
Πελοποννήσιοί τε ὄντες καὶ Δωριῆς Ἰώνων καὶ  
νησιωτῶν καὶ ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων κρατήσαντες <sup>25</sup>  
ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

- 6 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, αὖθις  
‘After no long time, he again brought them up in order of battle. N. marched out into the open space to meet him. The counter-wall of intersection was on the point of cutting the A. line—so that it was essential for N. to attack without delay.’ ἐπήγεν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Νικίας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζοντες καὶ εἰ ἐκείνοι μὴ ἐθέλοιεν μάχης ἄρχειν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σφίσι μὴ περιορᾶν παροικο- <sup>5</sup>  
δομούμενον τὸ τεῖχος (ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρεληλύθει τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τεύχους τελευτὴν ἢ ἐκείνων τείχισις, καὶ εἰ παρέλθοι, ταῦτὸν ἥδη ἐποίει αὐτοῖς νικᾶν τε μαχομένοις <sup>10</sup>  
διὰ παντὸς καὶ μὴδὲ μάχεσθαι), ἀντεπήσαν οὖν <sup>2</sup>  
τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον προαγαγὼν ξυνέμισγεν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δ’ ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς ἐκ πλαγίου τάξας τῶν <sup>15</sup>  
Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἢ τῶν τειχῶν <sup>3</sup>  
ἀμφοτέρων αἱ ἐργασίαι ἔληγον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ ἱππῆς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπερ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἦν, ἔτρεψαν· καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα <sup>20</sup>  
νικηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων κατηράχθη ἐς τὰ <sup>4</sup>  
τειχίσματα. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐφ-  
θασαν παροικοδομήσαντες καὶ παρ-  
ελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδο-

- 6 1. αὖθις om. M. — παρέλθοι] προέλθοι MSS. ; corr. Cl.  
3. κατερράχθη M.

μίαν, ὥστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύε-  
σθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ παν-  
τάπασιν ἀπεστερηκέαι, εἰ καὶ κρα-  
τοῖεν, μὴ ἂν ἔτι σφᾶς ἀποτειχίσαι.

within its forti- 25  
fied lines. And  
in the course of  
the very next  
night, the S.  
counter-wall  
was pushed so  
far as to traverse  
and get beyond  
the projected  
line of A. block-  
ade.'

7 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αἶ τε τῶν Κορινθίων  
νῆες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδ-  
ίων ἐσέπλευσαν αἱ ὑπόλοιποι δώδεκα,  
λαθοῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φυλα-  
κὴν (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑρασινίδης  
Κορίνθιος), καὶ ξυνετείχισαν τὸ λοι-  
πὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις [μέχρι < τοῦ  
Εὐρυήλου > τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου <sup>νεῶς</sup> τείχους.

'Further defence  
was obtained by  
the safe arrival  
of the fleet of 12  
5 triremes under  
Erasinides,  
which N. had  
vainly en-  
deavoured to  
intercept.'

2 καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Σικελίαν ἐπὶ στρα-  
τιάν τε ὄχετο καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν ξυλλέξων, 10  
καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἅμα προσαξόμενος εἴ τις ἢ μὴ πρό-  
θυμος ἦν ἢ παντάπασιν ἔτι ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέ-  
3 μου. πρέσβεις τε ἄλλοι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ  
Κορινθίων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπε-  
στάλησαν, ὅπως στρατιὰ ἔτι περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ 15  
ᾧ ἂν ἐνῇ, ὀλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν

7 1. μέχρι < τοῦ Εὐρυήλου > τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους. I have in-  
serted two words which appear to have dropped out before τοῦ  
ἐγκαρσίου. Freeman (*Hist. Sic.* iii. 257, 679) defends Grote's  
view that the wall now built is a separate wall built from  
Euryelus eastwards to join τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος. If a temporary  
gap was left west of the cross-wall, what was to prevent Nicias  
from attacking the cross-wall? And how is it that in this  
single instance Thuc. gives no indication of the direction of  
this supposed new wall? Contrast vi. 99, 3; 101, 2.—[μέχρι]  
Badham, Holm, Cl.; [μέχρι . . . τείχους] Sta.

2. στρατείαν M.—ξυλλέγων M.—ἀφειστήκει M.

3. περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐνῇ, ὀλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις] περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ  
ᾧ ἂν ἐν ὀλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν π. MSS.; Widmann  
brackets τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν; [ἐν . . . ὅπως ἂν] Bekker, Schäfer, Hw.;  
I have restored ἐνῇ for ἐν, i.e. *quoquo modo fieri possit*. Cf. i.

προχωρή, ὥς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιμεταπεμπο-  
μένων. οἳ τε Συρακόσιοι ναυτικὸν

- 4 'Not content with having placed the S. out of danger, Gylippus took advantage of their renewed confidence to infuse into them projects of retaliation.'

ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀνέπειρῶντο ὥς καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσונτες, καὶ ἐς τὰλλα 20 πολὺ ἐπέρρωντο.

- 8 'N. became convinced that to remain as they were was absolute ruin. He determined to send home an undisguised account of his critical position, and to solicit either reinforcements or instructions to return.'

Ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο καὶ ὁρῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδιδούσαν τήν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν ἀπορίαν, ἔπεμπε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀγγέλλων πολλάκις μὲν καὶ 5 ἄλλοτε καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τότε, νομίζων ἐν δεινοῖς τε εἶναι καὶ εἰ μὴ ὥς τάχιστα ἢ σφᾶς μεταπέμψουσιν ἢ ἄλλους μὴ ὀλίγους ἀποστελοῦσιν, οὐδεμίαν εἶναι 10

- 2 σωτηρίαν. φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ οἱ πεμπόμενοι ἢ κατὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυνασίαν ἢ καὶ μνήμης ἑλλιπεῖς γιγνόμενοι ἢ τῷ ὀχλῷ πρὸς χάριν τι λέγοντες οὐ τὰ ὄντα ἀπαγγέλλωσιν, ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολήν, νομίζων οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην μηδὲν 15 ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλω ἀφανισθεῖσαν μαθόντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.  
3 καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο φέροντες [οὓς ἀπέστειλε] τὰ

5 περαιοῦσθαι ναυσίν; i. 107 ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες. They say also ἐπὶ πλοίου and ἐν πλοίῳ περαιοῦσθαι; but the dat. is here preferred on account of τρόπῳ.—πλοίῳ M.

8

1. ἦν for εἰ M.

2. μνήμης B] γνώμης the rest.—γενόμενοι M.

3. [οὓς ἀπέστειλε] I bracket: ὥς ἀπέστειλε Sta., Hu.; ἀπέστειλε [τὰ γράμ.] Pluygers; [φέροντες . . εἰπεῖν] Hw., 'interpolata ex cap. x (Stud. 93. Cf. Mnem. viii. fasc. 3), non sufficiente Pluygersii conjectura. Duo sunt glossemata οὓς



γράμματα καὶ ὅσα ἔδει αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ τὰ  
κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ‘He sent home a 20  
μᾶλλον ἤδη ἔχων ἢ δι’ ἐκουσίων κιν-  
δύνων ἐπεμέλετο. despatch, which  
seems to have  
reached A. about  
the end of  
November, and  
was read form-  
ally in the public  
assembly by the  
secretary of the  
city.’

9 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι\*  
καὶ Εὐετίων στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων  
μετὰ Περδίκκου στρατεύσας ἐπ’ Ἀμ-  
φίπολιν Θραξὶ πολλοῖς τὴν μὲν πόλιν οὐχ εἶλεν,  
ἐς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα περικομίσας τριήρεις ἐκ τοῦ 5  
ποταμοῦ ἐπολιόρκει ὀρμώμενος ἐξ Ἰμεραίου. καὶ  
τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

10 Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἤκοντες ἐς  
τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου ὅσα τε ἀπὸ  
γλώσσης εἶρητο αὐτοῖς εἶπον, καὶ εἴ τις τι  
ἐπηρώτα ἀπεκρίνοντο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέ-  
δοσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς [τῆς πόλεως] παρελθὼν 5  
ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δηλοῦσαν τοιάδε.

11 “Τὰ μὲν πρότερον πραχθέντα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ✓  
ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἴστε·  
νῦν δὲ καιρὸς οὐχ ἥσσον μαθόντας  
ὕμᾱς ἐν ᾧ ἐσμέν βουλεύσασθαι.

I. Προοίμιον  
(11, 1). ‘I beg  
to report to you,  
and to invite  
your considera-  
tion.’

2 κρατησάντων γὰρ ἡμῶν μάχαις ταῖς  
πλείοσι Συρακοσίους ἐφ’ οὓς ἐπέμφ-  
θημεν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη οἰκοδομησαμένων  
ἐν οἷσπερ νῦν ἐσμέν, ἦλθε Γύλιππος 5

a. διήγησις (2-  
3), i.e. a clear,  
short, and cred-  
ible statement of  
the position in  
Sicily.

ἀπέστειλε ad οἱ μὲν, reliqua ad ὧχοντο.—μᾶλλον om. M.—ἢ δι’  
om. M, and so Badham, Hw.; διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων, ἤδη ἀκουσίων  
κινδύνων ἐπεμέλετο Dobree.—ἐπεμελεῖτο M.

10 ἡρώτα MT.—[τῆς πόλεως] Hw., Sta., Hu.

11 1. πρῶτον M.—ἦττον M.

2. οἰκοδομησάντων M.—νῦν om. M.



Λακεδαιμόνιος στρατιὰν ἔχων ἔκ τε Πελοπον-  
 νήσου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων ἔστιν ὢν. 10  
 καὶ μάχῃ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ νικᾶται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τῇ δ'  
 ὑστεραίᾳ ἱππεύσιν τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς  
 3 βιασθέντες ἀνεχωρήσαμεν εἰς τὰ τείχη. νῦν οὖν  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν παυσάμενοι τοῦ περιτειχισμού διὰ τὸ  
 πλήθος τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσυχάζομεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ξυμ- 15  
 πᾶσι τῇ στρατιᾷ δυναίμεθ' ἂν χρῆσθαι, ἀπανη-  
 λωκυίας τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν τειχῶν μέρος τι τοῦ  
 ὀπλιτικοῦ). οἱ δὲ παρῶκοδομήκασιν ἡμῖν τεῖχος  
 ἀπλοῦν, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἔτι περιτειχίσαι αὐτούς,  
 ἣν μὴ τις τὸ παρατείχισμα τοῦτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ 20  
 ἐπελθὼν ἔλῃ.

4 Ξυμβέβηκέ τε πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἡμᾶς  
 ἄλλους αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, ὅσα γε κατὰ  
 γῆν, τοῦτο πᾶσχειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τοὺς ἱππέας 25  
 ἐξερχόμεθα. Πεπόμεφασιν δὲ καὶ εἰς  
 Πελοπόννησον πρέσβεις ἐπ' ἄλλην στρατιάν,  
 καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις Γύλιπ-  
 πος οἴχεται, τὰς μὲν καὶ πείσων  
 5 ξυμπολεμεῖν ὅσαι νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν,  
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καὶ στρατιάν ἔτι πεζὴν  
 καὶ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἣν δύνη-  
 2 ται ἄξων. διανοοῦνται γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, τῷ τε πεζῷ ἅμα τῶν  
 τειχῶν ἡμῶν πειρᾶν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ 10

b. Informal  
 πρόθεσις (11, 4),  
 stating the pro-  
 position on  
 which he is  
 about to insist.

II. πίστις (12-  
 15, 2), designed  
 to exhibit—

a. The in-  
 creasing  
 strength of  
 the enemy,

b. The in-  
 creasing  
 weakness of  
 the A.

A. With the  
 object of induc-  
 ing his hearers  
 to act on his

2. ἔκ τε] τε om. M.—ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ M.

3. χρῆσθαι M; χρήσασθαι C; χρῆσθαι Cobet.—ἀπανη-  
 λωκυίας M.

12 1. ἔτι καὶ στρατιάν MT; καὶ σ. ἔτι B.

3 κατὰ θάλασσαν. καὶ δεινὸν μηδενὶ advice (=πίστις παθητικὴ);  
 ὑμῶν δόξῃ εἶναι ὅτι καὶ κατὰ θά- B. With the  
 λασσαν. τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν, object of leading  
 ἥπερ κἀκεῖνοι πυκνάνονται, τὸ μὲν up to that  
 πρῶτον ἤκμαζε καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῇ advice, which is  
 ξηρότητι καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων τῇ either to recall  
 σωτηρίᾳ· νῦν δὲ αἴ τε νῆες διά- the armament or  
 βροχοι, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἤδη θαλασσεύουσαι, send large rein- 15  
 4 καὶ τὰ πληρώματα ἐφθαρται. τὰς μὲν γὰρ forcements  
 ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκύσαντας διαψύξαι διὰ τὸ (=πίστις λογικὴ  
 ἀντιπάλους τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἔτι πλείους τὰς or πραγματικὴ).  
 τῶν πολεμίων οὔσας αἰὲ προσδοκίαν παρ-  
 5 ἔχειν ὥς ἐπιπλεύσονται. φανερὰ δέ εἰσιν  
 ἀναπειρώμεναι, καὶ αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις,  
 καὶ ἀποξηρᾶναι τὰς σφετέρας μᾶλλον ἐξουσία· 25  
 13 οὐ γὰρ ἐφόρμουσιν ἄλλοις. ἡμῖν δ' ἐκ πολλῆς  
 ἂν περιουσίας νεῶν μόλις τοῦτο ὑπῆρχε καὶ μὴ  
 ἀναγκαζομένοις ὥσπερ νῦν πάσαις φυλάσσειν.  
 εἰ γὰρ ἀφαιρήσομέν τι καὶ βραχὺ τῆς τηρήσεως,  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐχ ἔχομεν, παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνων 5  
 2 πόλιν χαλεπῶς καὶ νῦν ἐσκομιζόμενοι. τὰ δὲ  
 πληρώματα διὰ τόδε ἐφθάρη τε ἡμῖν καὶ ἔτι νῦν  
 φθείρεται, τῶν ναυτῶν [~~τῶν~~] μὲν διὰ φρυγανισ-  
 μὸν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν μακρὰν καὶ ὑδρείαν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἱππέων ἀπολλυμένων. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες, ἐπειδὴ 10

3. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι M.

4. διαψύξαι M.—καὶ τῷ πλήθει M, Hu.—ὅτι πλείους M.

5. ἀποπειρώμεναι M.—τὰ σφέτερα M.—ἐξουσία om. M, and so Sta., Hw.—ἄλλήλοις M.

13 2. νῦν ἔτι M.—[τῶν] Pp., Hw., Sta., Hu., Sitz.; τῶν μὲν ναυτῶν Fr. Müller, Widmann.

ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν, αὐτομολοῦσι, καὶ οἱ  
 ξένοι οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἐσβάντες εὐθὺς κατὰ  
 τὰς πόλεις ἀποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ μεγάλου  
 μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι  
 χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ 15  
 παρὰ γνώμην ναυτικόν τε δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἀνθεστῶτα ὀρώσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ'  
 αὐτομολίας προφάσει ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς  
 ἕκαστοι δύνανται· πολλὴ δ' ἡ Σικελία· εἰσὶ δὲ  
 οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι ἀνδράποδα Ἰκ- 20  
 καρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάζσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες  
 τοὺς τριηράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ  
 14 ἀφήρηνται. ἐπισταμένοις δ' ὑμῖν γράφω ὅτι  
 βραχεῖα ἀκμὴ πληρώματος καὶ ὀλίγοι τῶν  
 ναυτῶν οἱ ἐξορμῶντές τε ναῦν καὶ ξυνέχοντες  
 2 τὴν εἰρεσίαν. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀπορώτατον  
 τό τε μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι ταῦτα ἐμοὶ κωλύσαι τῷ 5  
 στρατηγῷ (χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὑμέτεραι φύσεις  
 ἄρξαι), καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' ὀπόθεν ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα τὰς  
 ναῦς ἔχομεν, ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλαχόθεν  
 ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοντες ἦλθομεν  
 τά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα γίγνεσθαι· αἱ 10  
 γὰρ νῦν οὔσαι πόλεις ξύμμαχοι ἀδύνατοι Νάξος

2. αὐτομολίας M. 'Conjecta sunt αὐτονομίας [Passow, Sta., Hu., Sitz.]; σιτολογίας [Pluygers]; ἀσχολίας [Meineke]; αἰχμαλω-  
 τίας [Madvig]; ἀργυρολογίας [Hw.]; αὐτοστολίας Naber; ἀντι-  
 βολίας Widmann; ἀπομισθίας Gertz; αὐτουργίας Marchant, i.e.  
 'on the ground that they have to work their land themselves,  
 and cannot leave it to slaves.' Badham brackets οἱ δὲ; 'scripsi  
 οἱ [δὲ], reponere non ausus οἱ δὴ. Nec male haberet οἱ ἂν . .  
 δύνωνται.' Hw.—αὐτοῦ M; αὐτοὶ B.

3 καὶ Κατάνη. εἰ δὲ προσγενήσεται ἐν ἔτι τοῖς  
πολεμίοις, ὥστε τὰ τρέφοντα ἡμᾶς χωρία τῆς  
Ἰταλίας, ὁρῶντα ἐν ᾧ τε ἐσμέν, καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ  
ἐπιβοηθούντων, πρὸς ἐκείνους χωρήσαι, διαπε- 15  
πολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς ἀμαχεὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντων  
ἡμῶν [~~ὁ πόλεμος~~].

4 Τούτων ἐγὼ ἡδίστ' ἔμεν ἂν εἶχον ὑμῖν ἑτέρα  
ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μέντοι χρησιμώτερά γε, εἰ δεῖ  
σαφῶς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὰ ἐνθάδε βουλεύσασθαι. 20  
καὶ ἅμα τὰς φύσεις ἐπιστάμενος ὑμῶν, βουλο-  
μένων μὲν τὰ ἡδιστα ἀκούειν, αἰτιωμένων δὲ  
ὑστερον, ἣν τι ὑμῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴ ὁμοῖον ἐκβῇ,  
ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγησάμην τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλώσαι.  
15 καὶ νῦν ὥς ἐφ' ἃ μὲν ἤλθομεν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ  
τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑμῖν μὴ  
μεμπτῶν γεγεννημένων, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε·  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ Σικελία τε ἅπασα ξυνίσταται καὶ  
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσδόκιμος 5  
αὐτοῖς, βουλεύσασθε ἤδη ὥς τῶν γ' ἐνθάδε μηδὲ  
τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνταρκούντων, ἀλλ' ἢ τούτους  
μεταπέμπειν δέον ἢ ἄλλην στρατιὰν μὴ ἐλάσσω  
ἐπιπέμπειν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, καὶ χρή-  
ματα μὴ ὀλίγα, ἐμοὶ δὲ διάδοχόν τινα, ὥς 10  
ἀδύνατός εἰμι διὰ νόσον νεφρῆτιν παραμένειν.  
2 ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμῶν ξυγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· καὶ γὰρ  
ὅτ' ἐρρώμην πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὑμᾶς εὖ  
ἐποίησα.

14 3. [ὁ πόλεμος] Kr., Sta., Hw., Widmann. The Schol. did  
not read it.

15 1. αὐτοὶ βουλεύσασθε B; the rest αὐτοῖς βουλεύεσθε.—ἀνταρ-  
κούντων M.—πεζικὴν M.



3 "Ο τι δὲ μέλλετε, ἅμα τῷ ἡρι εὐθὺς καὶ μὴ ἐς 15  
 ἀναβολὰς πράσσετε, ὥς τῶν πολε-  
 μίων τὰ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δι' ὀλίγου  
 ποριουμένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου  
 σχολαίτερον μὲν, ὅμως δ', ἣν μὴ  
 προσέχητε τὴν γνώμην, τὰ μὲν λή- 20  
 σουσιν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, τὰ δὲ φθήσονται."

16 Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Νικίου ἐπιστολὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου.  
 'The A. resolved —not to send  
 for the present  
 armament, but  
 to reinforce it—  
 they insisted on  
 continuing N. in  
 command; pass-  
 ing a vote, how-  
 ever, to name  
 Menander and  
 Euthydemus  
 joint com-  
 manders.—They  
 sent Eurymedon  
 speedily in com-  
 mand of 10  
 triremes to Syr.,  
 carrying 120  
 talents of silver,  
 together with  
 assurances of  
 coming aid.—  
 And they re-  
 solved to equip  
 a formidable  
 force, under  
 Demosth. and  
 Eurymedon.'

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες αὐτῆς τὸν  
 μὲν Νικίαν οὐ παρέλυσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτῷ, ἕως ἂν ἕτεροι ξυνάρχοντες  
 αἰρεθέντες ἀφίκωνται, τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ 5  
 δύο προσείλοντο, Μένανδρον καὶ Εὐ-  
 θύδημον, ὅπως μὴ μόνος ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ  
 ταλαιπωροίῃ στρατιὰν δὲ ἄλλην  
 ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν καὶ ναυτικὴν  
 καὶ πεζὴν, Ἀθηναίων τε ἐκ κατα- 10  
 λόγου καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων. καὶ ξυν-  
 ἀρχοντας αὐτῷ εἶλοντο Δημοσθένη  
 τε τὸν Ἀλκισθένους καὶ Εὐρυ-  
 μέδοντα τὸν Θουκλέους. καὶ τὸν 15  
 μὲν Εὐρυμέδοντα εὐθὺς περὶ ἡλίου  
 τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινὰς\* ἀποπέμπου-  
 σιν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ δέκα νεῶν, ἄγοντα  
 εἴκοσι < καὶ ἑκατὸν > τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ἅμα  
 ἀγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὅτι ἥξει βοήθεια καὶ ἐπι-

3. πράττετε M.

1. πεζικὴν M.—Δημοσθένην M.

2. καὶ ἑκατὸν wanting in all the best MSS., was read by Valla.



7 μέλεια αὐτῶν ἔσται. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπομένων  
 παρεσκευάζετο τὸν ἔκπλουν, ὡς ἅμα 'The Syr. war  
 τῷ ἡρι ποιησόμενος, στρατιάν τε now no longer  
 ἐπαγγέλλων ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ stands apart,  
 χρήματα αὐτόθεν καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὀπλί- but becomes ab-  
 5 τας ἐτοιμάζων. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ sorbed in the  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι general war  
 ναῦς, ὅπως φυλάσσοιεν μηδένα ἀπὸ rekindling  
 Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου throughout  
 3 ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιουῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ Κορίνθιοι, 10  
 ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἤκον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ  
 βελτίῳ ἡγγελλον, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄκαιρον καὶ  
 τὴν προτέραν πέμψιν τῶν νεῶν 'Twenty other  
 ποιήσασθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπέρ- A. triremes  
 ρωντο, καὶ ἐν ὀλκάσι παρεσκευά- were sent to the  
 15 ζοντο αὐτοί τε ἀποστελοῦντες ὀπλί- station of Nau-  
 τας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης paktus—to pre-  
 Πελοποννήσου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῷ 15  
 4 αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πέμψοντες. ναῦς τε οἱ reinforcements  
 Κορίνθιοι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπλή- from sailing out  
 20 ρουν, ὅπως ναυμαχίας τε ἀποπειρά- of the Cor.  
 ῶσι πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ Gulf.—The Cor.  
 φυλακὴν, καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας αὐτῶν ἤσσουν οἱ ἐν τῇ on their side  
 Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι κωλύοιεν ἀπαίρειν, πρὸς prepared 25  
 20 fresh triremes,  
 to serve as a  
 convoy to the  
 transports  
 carrying their  
 hoplites.

7 3. αὐτοῖς οἱ πρ. B; the rest οἱ τε πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς, which  
 would require a contrast to οἱ πρέσβεις in the next clause.—  
 πολλὰ M.—πέμψαντες M; [πέμψοντες] Hw., Hu.; the addition  
 of a comma after Λακεδαιμόνιοι explains the insertion; for  
 πέμψοντες is not co-ordinate with ἀποστελοῦντες.

4. εἴκοσι M.—ἐν τῇ N. Cf. 2 above. Thuc. does not else-  
 where use ἐν with φυλακὴ without a verb; the words may have  
 got in from οἱ ἐν τῇ N. Ἀ.

τὴν σφετέραν ἀντίταξιν τῶν τριήρων τὴν φυλα- 25  
κὴν ποιούμενοι.

- 18 Παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
ἐσβολὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥσπερ τε  
προεδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Συρα-  
κοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐναγόντων,  
ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν 5  
Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν,  
ὅπως δὴ ἐσβολῆς γενομένης διακω-  
λυθῇ. καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης προσκεί-  
μενος ἐδίδασκε τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχί-  
ζειν καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι τὸν πόλεμον. 10  
2 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγε-  
γένητό τις ῥώμη, διότι τοὺς Ἀθη-  
ναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν πόλεμον  
ἔχοντας, πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιώ-  
τας, εὐκαθαιρετωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ 15  
ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς προτέρους λελυκέναι  
ἡγοῦντο αὐτούς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ προτέρῳ  
πολέμῳ σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα  
μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐς Πλάταιαν

ἦλθον Θηβαῖοι ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ εἰρημένον ἐν 20  
ταῖς πρότερον ξυνθήκαις ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἣν  
δίκας ἐθέλωσι διδόναι, αὐτοὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον ἐς  
δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο εἰκότως δυστυχεῖν τε ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐνεθυ-  
μοῦντο τὴν τε περὶ Πύλον ξυμφορὰν καὶ εἴ τις 25

3 ἄλλη αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι

- 18 2. ἐγένετο M.—τε after ὅτι om. M.—θέλωσι M.—ἐγένετο M,  
Sta., Sitz.; γένοιτο CAEFG, Cl., Bh., Hu.; ἐγεγένητο Hw.;  
ἐγεγένειτο B.

ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἄργους ὀρμώμενοι  
Ἐπιδαύρου τέ τι καὶ Πρασιῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδήωσαν  
καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἅμα ἐλήστευον, καὶ ὁσάκις περὶ του  
διαφοραὶ γένοιντο τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφισ- 30  
βητουμένων, ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Λακε-  
δαιμονίων οὐκ ἤθελον ἐπιτρέπειν, τότε δὴ οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι νομίσαντες τὸ παρανόμημα ὅπερ  
καὶ σφίσι πρότερον ἡμάρτητο, αὖθις ἐς τοὺς  
Ἀθηναίους τὸ αὐτὸ περιεστάναι, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν 35  
4 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ σίδη-  
ρόν τε περιήγγελλον κατὰ τοὺς ξυμ-  
μάχους, καὶ τὰλλα ἐργαλεῖα ἡτοίμα-  
ζον ἐς τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν. καὶ τοῖς  
ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἅμα ὡς ἀποπέμψοντες  
ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοὶ τε  
ἐπόριζον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους προσ-  
ηνάγκαζον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ὄγδοον  
καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε δὲ  
Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

‘Never was any  
winter so  
actively em-  
ployed in  
military prepar-  
ations as the  
winter of  
414-413 B.C.’

40

45

19 \* Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου ἡρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου  
πρώτατα δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ  
ξύμμαχοι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσέβαλον.  
ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγισ ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακε-  
δαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν  
τῆς χώρας τὰ περὶ τὸ πεδίου ἐδήω-  
σαν, ἔπειτα Δεκέλειαν ἐτείχιζον, κατὰ

‘At the earliest  
moment of  
spring—most  
important of all  
was the re-in-  
vasion of Attica.  
—The plain in  
the neighbour-  
hood of A. was  
first laid waste,  
after which the

5

3. ἐξ Ἄργους and τε after Ἐπιδαύρου are only in B.—ἐλήσ-  
τευον B; the rest ἐληστεύοντο.

19 1. πρώτατα M; πρωίτατα M in marg., T in marg.;  
πρωιαίτατα B; πρώτατα Cl., Sta., Hu., Bh.

2 invaders proceeded to their special purpose of erecting a fortified post at Dekeleia.'

πόλεις διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Δεκέλεια σταδίου μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἴκοσι καὶ 10 ἑκατόν, παραπλήσιον δὲ [καὶ οὐ

πολλῷ πλέον] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν ὥκοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι

3 τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ 15 Ἀττικῇ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐτείχι-

'From C. Tænarus in Laconia embarked a force of 600 Lac. hoplites, and 300 Boeotian hoplites.'

ζον· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἀπέ- στελλον περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ταῖς ὀλκάσι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῶν τε Εἰλώτων 20

ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων, ξυναμφοτέρων ἐς ἑξακοσίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ Ἐκκριτον Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἦρχον Ξένων τε καὶ

4 Νίκων Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος Θεσπιεύς. οὗτοι 25 μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι ὀρμήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταινάρου τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφείσαν· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Κορίνθιοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Κορίν-

2. παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ οὐ B; [π. δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον καὶ] Kr., Hw.; π. δὲ [οὐ πολλῷ πλέον] Hu.; for ἀπὸ read by Valla, the best MSS. have ἐπὶ, and so Kr., Hw.—[ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν] Kr., Sta., Hw., Hu.

3. βελτίους M.—τῶν before νεοδαμωδῶν om. M.—ἐς before ἑξακοσίους om. M.

4. ἐν ταῖς πρώτοις M.—ἀφῆκαν MSS.—μετὰ δὲ τούτοις M.—ἀπ' αὐτῆς Κορίνθου Cl., Hw., with B; it is better than ἐκ, which the rest have, as ἀπὸ expresses the origin from which the troops were derived, not merely the place from which they came immediately. Cf. ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης ἦκειν vi. 64, and



θου, τοὺς δὲ προσμισθωσάμενοι Ἀρκάδων, καὶ 30  
 ἄρχοντα Ἀλέξαρχον Κορίνθιον προσ-  
 τάξαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἀπέστειλαν  
 δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι διακοσίους ὀπλίτας  
 ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κορινθίοις, ὧν ἦρχε Σαρ-  
 5 γεὺς Σικυώνιος. αἱ δὲ πέντε καὶ  
 εἴκοσι νῆες τῶν Κορινθίων αἱ τοῦ  
 χειμῶνος πληρωθεῖσαι ἀνθώρμουν  
 ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ εἴκοσιν Ἀτ-  
 τικαῖς, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς οὗτοι οἱ ὀπλίται ταῖς  
 ὀλκάσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπῆραν· οὐπερ 40  
 ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπληρώθησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς ὀλκάδας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὰς  
 τριήρεις τὸν νοῦν ἔχωσιν.

'At the same  
 time a body of  
 700 hoplites de-  
 parted from the  
 N. W. of Pel.  
 and the mouth  
 of the Cor. Gulf  
 for Sicily—the  
 Cor. triremes 35  
 watching them  
 until they were  
 past the A.  
 squadron at  
 Naupaktus.'

20 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῆς Δεκε-  
 λείας τῷ τειχισμῷ καὶ τοῦ ἥρος εὐθὺς  
 ἀρχομένου περί τε Πελοπόννησον  
 ναὺς τριάκοντα ἔστειλαν καὶ Χαρι-  
 κλέα τὸν Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχοντα, ᾧ 5  
 εἶρητο καὶ ἐς Ἀργος ἀφικομένῳ κατὰ  
 τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παρακαλεῖν Ἀργείων  
 2 [τε] ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς, καὶ τὸν  
 Δημοσθένη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὥσπερ  
 ἔμελλον, ἀπέστελλον ἐξήκοντα μὲν  
 ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πέντε Χίαις, ὀπλίταις δὲ ἐκ  
 καταλόγου Ἀθηναίων διακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις, καὶ

'We read with  
 amazement—  
 that while this  
 important work  
 was actually  
 going on—the A.  
 sent out, not 5  
 only a fleet of 30  
 triremes to an-  
 noy the coasts  
 of Pel., but also  
 the great arma-  
 ment which they  
 had resolved  
 upon under  
 Demosth.' 10

αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾷται ὁ πόλεμος i. 122.—προμισθω-  
 σάμενοι M.

5. αὐτοῖς B: the rest omit it.—πρῶτον] all but B have  
 πρότερον.—τὰς before ὀλκάδας om. M.

20 1. τῆς B only.—τε after περί B only.—[τε] edd., after Reiske.



νησιωτῶν ὅσοις ἑκασταχόθεν οἶόν τ' ἦν πλείστοις  
 χρήσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν  
 ὑπηκόων, εἴ ποθέν τι εἶχον ἐπιτήδειον ἐς τὸν 15  
 πόλεμον, ξυμπορίσαντες. εἴρητο δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον  
 μετὰ τοῦ Χαρικλέους ἅμα περιπλέοντα ξυστρα-  
 3 'The two fleets joined at  
 Aegina.' τεύεσθαι περὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν. καὶ  
 ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Λίγιναν  
 πλεύσας τοῦ στρατεύματός τε εἴ τι ὑπελέλειπτο 20  
 περιέμενε καὶ τὸν Χαρικλέα τοὺς Ἀργεῖους παρα-  
 λαβεῖν.

- 21 'Εν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους  
 τούτου τοῦ ἥρος καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἦκεν ἐς τὰς  
 Συρακούσας, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὧν ἔπεισε  
 στρατιὰν ὅσῃν ἑκασταχόθεν πλείστην ἐδύνατο.  
 2 'Gylippus re- καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Συρακοσίους 5  
 turned to Syr.  
 early in the  
 spring—with  
 fresh reinforce-  
 ments from the  
 interior.—It was  
 his first care, in  
 conjunction  
 3 with Hermo- καὶ ἐφῆ χρήναι πληροῦν ναῦς ὥς δύναν-  
 krates, to inspire  
 the Syr. with  
 courage for fight-  
 ing the A. on  
 shipboard.—  
 "The A. (said  
 H.) have not  
 been always  
 eminent at sea  
 as they now are:  
 they were once  
 10 τὰς ἐπειραν λαμβάνειν· ἐλπίζειν γὰρ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ τι ἔργον ἄξιον τοῦ κινδύνου ἐς  
 τὸν πόλεμον κατεργάσεσθαι. ξυν-  
 15 ἀνέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης οὐχ  
 ἥκιστα, τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν  
 ἐπιχειρῆσαι, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
 λέγων οὐδὲ ἐκείνους πάτριον τὴν  
 ἐμπειρίαν οὐδὲ αἰδίου τῆς θαλάσσης 15

2. ποθέν τει M pr., error for π. τι; ποθέν τοι m.

3. ὑπελέλειπτο] ὑπελείπετο MSS.; cor. Sta.

2. κατεργάσασθαι MSS.

3. ξυνανέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑ. οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν  
 ἐπιχειρήσειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, λέγων οὐδὲ ἐκείνους Vulg.;  
 ἐπιχειρῆσαι Dobree; οὐχ ἥκιστ' αὐτοὺς Sta.; οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ Kr.;  
 M omits τοῦ and gives ξυνέπειθε and ἐκείνους; [ἐπιχειρήσειν]  
 Sta., Cl., Hw.

ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἡπειρώτας μᾶλλον τῶν  
Συρακοσίων ὄντας καὶ ἀναγκασθέν-  
τας ὑπὸ Μήδων ναυτικούς γενέσθαι.  
καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς υἱοὺς καὶ  
Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς ἀντιφολμῶντας χα-  
λεπωτάτους ἂν [αὐτοῖς] φαίνεσθαι.  
ὧ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς πέλας, οὐ δύναμει

landsmen. They have often by their audacity daunted enemies of greater real force than themselves, and they must now be taught that others can play the same game with them." 20

ἔστιν ὅτε προύχοντες, τῷ δὲ θράσει ἐπιχειροῦν-  
τες, καταφοβοῦσι, καὶ σφᾶς ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως  
4 τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποσχεῖν. καὶ Σύρακοσίους εὖ 25  
εἰδέναι ἔφη τῷ τολμῆσαι ἀπροσδοκῆτως πρὸς τὸ  
Ἀθηναίων ναυτικὸν ἀντιστῆναι πλέον τι, διὰ τὸ  
τοιούτου ἐκπλαγέντων αὐτῶν, περιγενησομένους  
ἢ Ἀθηναίους τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὴν Σύρακοσίων  
ἀπειρίαν βλάψοντας. ἰέναι οὖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὴν 30  
5 πείραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀποκνεῖν. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν Συρακόσιοι, τοῦ τε Γυλίππου καὶ Ἑρμο-  
κράτους καὶ εἰ τοῦ ἄλλου πειθόντων, ὥρμητό τε  
22 ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Ὁ δὲ

Γύλιππος, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο τὸ  
ναυτικόν, ἀγαγὼν ὑπὸ νύκτα πᾶσαν  
τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν πεζὴν αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς  
ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ τείχεσι κατὰ γῆν  
ἔμελλε προσβαλεῖν, αἱ δὲ τριήρεις  
τῶν Συρακοσίων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ ξυυθή-  
ματος πέντε μὲν καὶ τριάκοντα ἐκ  
τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐπέπλεον, αἱ δὲ

‘Gylippus marched out his land-force secretly by night, over Epipolae and round by the right bank of the Anapus, to the neighbourhood of the fort of Plemmyrium. With the first dawn, the Syr. fleet sailed out. 5

3. ἂν [αὐτοῖς] Badham, Hw. ; some edd. omit ἂν and retain αὐτοῖς, others omit both ; καὶ αὐτοὺς Cl.

4. τι B only.—περιγενησομένους B ; the rest περιεσομένους.

1. παρεσκεύασατο M.

The A., though  
unprepared,—  
completely de-  
feated them.

πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐκ τοῦ 10  
ἐλάσσονος, οὗ ἦν καὶ τὸ νεώριον  
αὐτοῖς, [καὶ] περιέπλεον, βουλόμενοι

πρὸς τὰς ἐντὸς προσμεῖξαι καὶ ἅμα ἐπιπλεῖν τῷ  
Πλημμυρίῳ, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
2 θορυβῶνται. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τάχους ἀντι- 15

πληρώσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ταῖς μὲν πέντε καὶ  
εἴκοσι πρὸς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τῶν Συρα-  
κοσίων τὰς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ἐναυμάχουν,  
ταῖς δ' ἐπιλοίποις ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ

3 νεωρίου περιπλεούσας. καὶ εὐθὺς πρὸ τοῦ στό- 20  
ματος τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἐναυμάχουν, καὶ  
ἀντεῖχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ μὲν βιάσασθαι

23 βουλόμενοι τὸν ἔσπλουν, οἱ δὲ κωλύειν. ἐν  
τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Γύλιππος, τῶν ἐν τῷ Πλημμυρίῳ

'But this victory  
was more than  
counter-  
balanced by the  
irreparable loss  
of Plemmyrium.  
During the first  
excitement, the  
garrison went to  
the water's edge,  
little suspecting  
the presence of  
their enemy on  
the land-side.  
Gylippus at-  
tacked the forts,  
and captured  
them after a  
feeble resist-  
ance.'

Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπι-  
καταβάντων καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τὴν  
γνώμην προσεχόντων, φθάνει προσ- 5  
πεσὼν ἅμα τῇ ἑφ' αἰφνιδίως τοῖς  
τείχεσι, καὶ αἰρεῖ τὸ μέγιστον πρῶ-  
τον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐλάσσῳ δύο,  
οὐχ ὑπομεινάντων τῶν φυλάκων, ὥς  
εἶδον τὸ μέγιστον ῥαδίως ληφθέν. 10  
καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ἀλόντος, χα-  
λεπῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅσοι καὶ ἐς τὰ  
πλοῖα καὶ ὀλκάδα τινὰ κατέφυγον,  
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεκομίζοντο· τῶν  
γὰρ Συρακοσίων ταῖς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ 15

'The garrison  
sought safety as  
they could, and  
rowed across the

λιμένι ναυσὶ κρατούντων τῇ ναυ- Great Harbour  
to the land-camp  
of N. on the  
other side.  
μαχίᾳ ὑπὸ τριήρους μιᾶς καὶ εὖ  
πλεούσης ἐπεδιώκοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ

τὰ δύο τειχίσματα ἠλίσκετο, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ  
Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγχανον ἤδη νικώμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐξ 20

3 αὐτῶν φεύγοντες ῥᾶον παρέπλευσαν. αἱ γὰρ  
τῶν Συρακοσίων αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆες  
ναυμαχοῦσαι, βιασάμεναι τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
ναῦς οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐσέπλεον, καὶ παραχθείσαι  
περὶ ἀλλήλας παρέδοσαν τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἀθη- 25  
ναίοις. ταύτας τε γὰρ ἔτρεψαν καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τὸ

4 πρῶτον ἐνικῶντο ἐν τῷ λιμένι. καὶ ἔνδεκα μὲν  
ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων κατέδυσαν, καὶ τοὺς πολ-  
λοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτειναν, πλὴν ὅσον ἐκ  
τριῶν νεῶν οὓς ἐζώγρησαν· τῶν δὲ σφετέρων 30  
τρεῖς νῆες διεφθάρησαν. τὰ δὲ ναυάγια ἀνελ-  
κύσαντες τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ τροπαῖον ἐν τῷ  
ιησιδίῳ στήσαντες τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου,  
ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.

24 Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν  
οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ  
Πλημμυρίῳ τείχῃ εἶχον καὶ τροπαῖα  
ἔστησαν αὐτῶν τρία. καὶ τὸ μὲν  
ἕτερον τοῖν δυοῖν τειχοῖν τοῖν ὕστε-  
ρον ληφθέντοιιν κατέβαλον, τὰ δὲ  
2 δύο ἐπισκευάσαντες ἐφρούρουν. ἄν-  
θρωποι δ' ἐν τῶν τειχῶν τῇ ἀλώσει  
ἀπέθανον καὶ ἐζωγρήθησαν πολλοί,

‘This well-con-  
certed surprise  
was no less  
productive to  
the captors than  
fatal as a blow  
to the A. Not  
only were many  
men slain, and  
many made  
prisoners—but  
there were vast  
stores of every  
kind, and even a  
large stock of

5



money found  
within the fort.

καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ξύμπαντα 10

ἔάλω· ἅτε γὰρ ταμείῳ χρωμένων

τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τείχεσι πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπούρων

χρήματα καὶ σῖτος ἐνὴν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν

τριηράρχων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἰστία τεσσαράκοντα τριή-

ρων καὶ τᾶλλα σκεύη ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ τριήρεις 15

3 ἀφελκυσμέναι τρεῖς. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς

πρῶτον ἐκάκωσε τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων

ἢ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λήψις· οὐ γὰρ

ἔτι οὐδ' οἱ ἔσπλοι ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν

[τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς] τῶν ἐπιτηδείων (οἱ 20

γὰρ Συρακόσιοι ναυσὶν αὐτόθι ἐφορ-

μοῦντες ἐκώλυνον, καὶ διὰ μάχης ἤδη

ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐσκομιδαί), ἔς τε τᾶλλα

κατάπληξιν παρέσχε καὶ ἀθυμίαν τῷ στρατεύ-

ματι.

25

25 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ναῦς τε ἐκπέμπουσι δώδεκα οἱ

Συρακόσιοι καὶ Ἀγάθαρχον ἐπ' αὐ-

τῶν Συρακόσιον ἄρχοντα. καὶ αὐτῶν

μία μὲν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὄχετο,

πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οἵπερ τά τε 5

σφέτερα φράσουσιν ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσὶ καὶ τὸν

ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐποτρυνούσι γίγνεσθαι

24 2. ἅτε B only, Bek., Hw.; the rest ὥστε; ὥσπερ Josephus 18, 9, 1, Sta., Hu., Cl.—τῶν B only; the rest om.

3. μέγιστόν τε M, Sta., Cl.—τὸ στράτευμα τῶν BM; the rest τὸ σ. τὸ τῶν.—οἱ before ἔσπλοι om. B, Cl.—[τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς] Pr.—

τὰ ἄλλα MSS., except G.—παρεῖχε M.

25 1. οἵπερ CAFGM, Hu.; ὅπως B, Kr., Cl., Sta., Bh., Hw., Sitz.; ὥσπερ E. See M. T. 565, 572; on the other side M. L. Earle in *Clas. Rev.* vi. 93.—φράσωσιν . . ἐποτρύνωσι MSS. 'Subjunctivus post ὅς. οἵπερ . . φράσωσιν . . καὶ ἐποτρύνωσι. Vix dubium quin legendum—σουσιν—νούσι.' Dobree.—τε after τά B only.



αἱ δὲ ἔνδεκα νῆες πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπλευσαν,  
 πυνθανόμεναι πλοῖα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις χρημάτων  
 2 γέμοντα πρόσπλεῖν. καὶ τῶν τε πλοίων ἐπιτυ- 10  
 χοῦσαι τὰ πολλὰ διέφθειραν καὶ ξύλα ~~ναυπηγή-~~  
 σιμα ἐν τῇ Καυλωνιάτιδι κατέκαυσαν, ἃ τοῖς  
 3 Ἀθηναίοις ἐτοῖμα ἦν. ἔς τε Λοκροὺς μετὰ ταῦτα  
 ἦλθον, καὶ ὁρμουσῶν αὐτῶν κατέπλευσε μία  
 τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἄγουσα 15  
 Θεσπιδέων ὀπλίτας· καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντες αὐτοὺς οἱ  
 Συρακόσιοι ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου.  
 4 φυλάξαντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶ  
 πρὸς τοῖς Μεγάροις, μίαν μὲν ναὺν λαμβάνουσιν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν, 20  
 ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας.  
 5 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν σταυρῶν ἀκρο-  
 βολισμὸς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, οὓς οἱ Συρα-  
 κόσιοι πρὸ τῶν παλαιῶν νεωσφίκων  
 κατέπηξαν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ὅπως αὐ-  
 τοῖς αἱ νῆες ἐντὸς ὁρμοῖεν καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιπλέοντες μὴ βλάβοιεν  
 6 ἐμβάλλοντες. προσαγαγόντες γὰρ  
 ναὺν μυριοφόρον αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 πύργους τε ξυλίνους ἔχουσιν καὶ  
 παραφράγματα, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀκάτων  
 ὄνουν ἀναδύμενοι τοὺς σταυροὺς  
 καὶ ἀνείλκον, καὶ κατακλυμβῶντες

‘ Since the loss of Plemmyrium, the A. naval station was in the N. W. interior corner of the harbour. —As the two stations were not far apart, each party watched for opportunities of occasional attack—daily skirmishes took place—the A. formed the plan of breaking through the outworks of the

25

30

1. χρημάτων γέμοντα B only; the rest γέμ. χρημ.

2. ἐτοῖμα M.

4. ἠδυνήθησαν M.

5. ἐντὸς M.

6. ἀνείλκον Widmann, cf. ii. 76, 4, where Rutherford made the same alteration; ἀνέσπων Cl., Hw., from the schol.; ἀνέκλων MSS.

Syr. dockyard—  
but they gained  
little by it.

- ἐξέπριον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπὸ τῶν  
νεωφοίκων ἔβαλλον· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς 35  
ὀλκάδος ἀντέβαλλον· καὶ τέλος τοὺς πολλοὺς  
7 τῶν σταυρῶν ἀνείλον· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. χαλεπωτάτῃ  
δ' ἦν τῆς σταυρώσεως ἡ κρύφιος· ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν  
σταυρῶν οὓς οὐχ ὑπερέχοντας τῆς θαλάσσης  
κατέπηξαν, ὥστε δεινὸν ἦν προσπλεύσαι, μὴ οὐ 40  
προιδῶν τις (ὥσπερ περὶ ἔρμα) περιβάλη τὴν ναῦν.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κολυμβηταὶ δύομενοι ἐξέπριον  
μισθοῦ. ὅμως δ' αὖθις οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐσταύρω-  
8 σαν· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷον  
εἰκὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγγὺς ὄντων καὶ ἀντι- 45  
τεταγμένων, ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ  
πεύραις παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρῶντο.
- 9 Ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρέσβεις οἱ  
Συρακόσιοι Κορινθίων καὶ Ἀμπρα-  
κιωτῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀγγέλ- 50  
λοντας τὴν τε τοῦ Πλημμυρίου  
λήψιν καὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας πέρι ὡς  
οὐ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχύϊ μᾶλλον ἢ  
τῇ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῇ ἡσσηθεῖεν, τά  
τε ἄλλα [αὖ] δηλώσαντας ὅτι ἐν 55  
ἐλπίσιν εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀξιῶσαντας ξυμ-  
βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ, ὡς καὶ  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσδοκίμων ὄντων ἄλλη στρατιᾷ,  
καί, ἦν φθάσωσιν αὐτοὶ πρότερον διαφθείραντες  
τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα αὐτῶν, διαπεπολεμησόμενον. 60  
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ταῦτα ἔπρασσον.

9. [αὖ] omitted by BCM.—διαπεπολεμησόμενον B only; the rest διαπολεμησόμενον.

- 6 Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ ξυνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ  
στράτευμα ὃ ἔδει ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν  
Σικελίαν βοηθεῖν, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Αἰγί-  
νης καὶ πλεύσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόν-  
νησον τῷ τε Χαρικλεῖ καὶ ταῖς τριά-  
κοντα ναυσὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμ-  
μίσγει, καὶ παραλαμβάντες τῶν Ἀρ-  
γείων ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον  
2 ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν  
τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου τι τῆς Λιμηρᾶς  
ἐδήωσαν, ἔπειτα σχόντες ἐς τὰ καταν-  
τικρὺ Κυθήρων τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἔνθα  
τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι, τῆς  
τε γῆς ἐστὶν ἃ ἐδήωσαν καὶ ἐτείχισαν ἰσθμῶδές  
τι χωρίον, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τε Εἰλωτες [τῶν Λακεδαι- 15  
μονίων] αὐτόσε αὐτομολῶσι καὶ ἅμα ληστὰι ἐξ  
αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου, ἀρπαγὴν ποιῶνται.  
3 καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης εὐθύς ἐπειδὴ ξυγκατέλαβε  
τὸ χωρίον παρέπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας, ὅπως καὶ  
τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβὼν τὸν ἐς τὴν 20  
Σικελίαν πλοῦν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιῆται· ὁ δὲ  
Χαρικλῆς περιμείνας ἕως τὸ χωρίον ἐξετείχισε  
καὶ καταλιπὼν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκομίζετο καὶ  
αὐτὸς ὕστερον ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπ' οἴκου  
καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἅμα. 25
- 7 Ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ [τῶν] Θρακῶν τῶν μαχαι-

- 6 1. ἐς om. M.  
2. τί for τι M twice.—κατ' ἀντικρὺ M.—[τῶν Λακ.] Hw.—  
ἅμα B only; the rest omit.  
3. ἐπέπλει M.—ἕως B only; the rest ὡς.  
7 1. [τῶν] om. BG.

'The fleets [of Demosthenes and Charikles] joined at Aegina, inflicted some devastations on the coasts of Laconia, and established a strong post on the island of Kythêra to encourage desertion among the Helots. From hence Charikles re- 10 turned, while D. conducted his armament round Pel. to Korkyra.'

ραφῶρων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας  
 'There had been engaged on hire 1500 pollasts from Thrace ;— but these men did not arrive in  
 2 time.' πελτασταὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τούτου τριακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, οὓς ἔδει τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ξυμ- 5  
 πλεῖν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς ὕστερον ἦκον, διανοοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον [ἐς Θράκην] ἀποπέμπειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελὲς ἐφαίνετο· δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος 10  
 3 ἐλάμβανον. | ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ Δεκέλεια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τειχισθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ φρου-  
 ραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπ' ὤκειτο, 15  
 πολλὰ ἔβλαπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον, χρημάτων τ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθορᾷ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ βρα-  
 χεῖαι γιγνόμεναι αἱ ἐσβολαὶ, τὸν ἄλ- 20  
 λον χρόνον τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύειν οὐκ ἐκώλυνον· τότε δὲ ξυνεχῶς ἐπ' ἤκαθη-  
 μένων, καὶ ὅτε μὲν καὶ πλειόνων ἐπιόντων, ὅτε δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς ἴσης  
 φρουρᾶς καταθεούσης τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ληστείας 25  
 ποιουμένης, βασιλέως τε παρόντος τοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀγιδος, ὃς οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου τὸν πόλε-

1. τοῦ αὐ. θέρους τ. B only ; the rest ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θ. τ.

2. [ἐς Θράκην] Bothe, Hw. — ἐλάμβανον B ; the rest ἐλάμβανε(ν).

3. ἀπὸ B only ; the rest ὑπὸ. — πρῶτον before χρημάτων Bekker ; πρῶτοις MSS. ; πρώτῃ Dobree, Hw.



μον ἐποιεῖτο, μεγάληα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβλάπτοντο.  
 5 τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστέρηντο, καὶ ἀνδρα-  
 πόδων πλέον ἢ δύο μυριάδες ἡντομολήκεσαν, καὶ 30  
 τούτων τὸ πολὺ μέρος χειροτέχναι, πρόβατά τε  
 ἀπωλώλει πάντα καὶ ὑποζύγια· ἵπποι τε, ὅση-  
 μέραι ἐξελαυνόντων τῶν ἱππέων, πρὸς τε τὴν  
 Δεκέλειαν καταδρομὰς ποιουμένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 χώραν φυλασσόντων, οἱ μὲν ἀπεχωλοῦντο ἐν γῇ 35  
 ἀποκρότῳ τε καὶ ξυνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦντες, οἱ δ'  
 28 ἐτιτρώσκοντο. ἢ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρακομιδὴ  
 ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ  
 Ὀρωποῦ κατὰ γῆν διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας  
 θάσσω οὔσα, περὶ Σούνιον κατὰ  
 θάλασσαν πολυτελὲς ἐγίγνετο· τῶν  
 τε πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπικτῶν ἐδεῖτο  
 ἢ πόλις, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι  
 2 φρούριον κατέστη.] πρὸς γὰρ τῇ  
 ἐπικίλξει τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι φυλάσσοντες, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καὶ ξύμ- 10  
 παντες πλὴν τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις  
 που, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ θέρους καὶ  
 3 χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπωροῦντο. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπείεζεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἅμα εἶχον, καὶ ἐς

'So terrible a loss was further aggravated by the increased cost and difficulty of import from Euboea.—A. was reduced to the condition of something like a military post.'

transl. by 5 etc. etc.

5. τὸ πολὺ B ; the rest om. τὸ.—ἀπωλώλει πάντα B only ; π. ἀπολώλει CM.—ὑποζύγια] B only has ζεύγη ; cf. Herod. ix. 39 λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγια τε πεντακόσια, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι.

28 1. θάσσω GM, Krüger, Classen, Böhme, Sitz. ; θᾶσσω ἰούσα Badham.

2. ἐφ' ὅ. που B, Cl., Sta., Bh., Hw., Sitz. ; the other MSS. ἐφ' ὅ. ποιούμενοι, for which πονούμενοι Kr., πολούμενοι Rauchenstein, κοιμώμενοι Mül.-Str. See Appendix II.



φιλονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἣν πρὶν γενέσ- 15  
 θαι ἡπίστησεν ἄν τις ἀκούσας, τό γ' ἄν, αὐτοὺς  
 πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτειχισμῷ ὑπὸ Πελοποννη-  
 σίων, μηδ' ὥς ἀποστήναι ἐκ Σικελίας, ἀλλὰ ἐκεί  
 Συρακούσας τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιπολιορκεῖν,  
 πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτήν· γε καθ' αὐτήν τῆς 20  
 Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τόλμης, ὅσον  
 <οἱ μὲν> κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν  
 ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἔτων οὐδεὶς  
 πλείω χρόνον, ἐνόμιζον περιόσειν αὐτούς, εἰ οἱ 25  
 Πελοποννήσιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἱ δὲ  
 ἔτει ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολὴν  
 ἦλθον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ πάντα  
 τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσ-  
 4 'The attacks from Dekeleia— brought the finances of A. into positive  
 ἀνείλυντο τοῦ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντος 30  
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου. δι' ἃ καὶ τότε  
 ὑπὸ τε τῆς Δεκελείας πολλὰ βλαπ-

3. MSS. have ἦν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡπίστησεν ἄν τις ἀκούσας. τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτειχισμῷ ὑπὸ Πελ. μηδ' ὥς ἀποστήναι . . . καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι . . . ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ π. . . ἐς τὴν χώραν· ὥστε ἔτει κ.τ.λ. For γὰρ Bothe reads γε, Badham γ', Sitz. καὶ; Sta. corrects γὰρ αὐτοὺς to παρ' αὐτοῖς; Shil. on i. 25 proposes to render γὰρ 'namely'; Holden makes the infins. *exclamatory*, which few will consider appropriate either to γὰρ or to the context or to the author; Cl. supposes an anacoluthon, the verb to τὸ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. not being inserted.—αὐτήν γε] all the best MSS. have αὐτήν τε. —ἐποίησε for ποιῆσαι Pluygers.—For ὅσον, Badham, Hu., Madvig read ὅσοι; Sitz. ὅπερ; Sta. and others make only ὥστε correlative to τοσοῦτον, and render ὅσον 'inasmuch as.'—<οἱ μὲν> has dropped out in consequence of (a) οἱ μὲν following, (b) the resemblance of ΟCONΚΑΤ to ΟCONΟΙΜΕΝΚΑΤ. See note.—οἱ δὲ] MSS. ὥστε; Cl. ὅμως δὲ. My argument will be found in *Class. Rev.* vi. (1892), p. 303 f.

4. διὸ M.—τε B only; the rest omit.

τούσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων  
 μεγάλων προσπιπτόντων, ἀδύνατοι  
 ἐγένοντο τοῖς χρήμασι. καὶ τὴν  
 εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν  
 κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῖς  
 ὑπηκόοις ἐπέθεσαν, πλείω νομίζοντες  
 ἂν σφίσι χρήματα οὕτω προσιέναι.  
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ δαπάναι οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ  
 πρὶν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μείζους καθέστα-  
 σαν, ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων ὁ πόλεμος ἦν, αἱ δὲ πρόσ-  
 οδοὶ ἀπώλλυντο.

embarrassment. With a view of increasing her revenues, she altered the principle on which her subject-allies had hitherto been assessed.—She now required from them payment of a duty of 5 p. c. on all imports and exports by sea.

35

40

29 Τοὺς οὖν Θραῖκας τοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει

ὑστερήσαντας, διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν  
 ἀπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων οὐ βουλό-  
 μενοι δαπανᾶν, εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον,  
 προστάξαντες κομίσαι αὐτοὺς Διει-  
 τρέφει καὶ εἰπόντες ἅμα ἐν τῷ παρά-  
 πλῳ (ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ δι' Εὐρίπου)  
 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἦν τι δύνηται,

'The A. placed the Thracian mercenaries under the command of Diitrephēs, to conduct them back—with instructions to do damage to the Boeotians, as opportunity might occur.'

5

2 ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάψαι. ὁ δὲ ἔς τε τὴν Ταναγραίαν  
 ἀπεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄρπαγὴν τινα ἐποιήσατο 10  
 διὰ τάχους, καὶ ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀφ'  
 ἐσπέρας διέπλευσε τὸν Εὐρίπου καὶ ἀποβιβάσας  
 ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤγεεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσόν.  
 3 καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα λαθὼν πρὸς τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ  
 ἠύλισατο (ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησσοῦ ἐκκαίδεκα 15  
 μάλιστα σταδίους), ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πόλει

4. ἐπέθεσαν] MSS. ; ἐποίησαν, cor. by Hw., Badham.

1. δύνηται B only ; the rest δύνωνται.

2. τε B only ; the rest omit.—Τάναγραν MSS. ; cor. Cl.

3. ἠύλισατο B only ; ἠύλιζετο the rest, Hu.

προσέκειτο, οὔση οὐ μεγάλη, καὶ αἰρεῖ ἀφυλάκ-  
 τοις τε ἐπιπесῶν καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτοις μὴ ἂν ποτέ  
 τινα σφίσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τοσοῦτον ἐπανα-  
 βάντα ἐπιθέσθαι, τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος 20  
 καὶ ἔστιν ἡ καὶ πεπτωκότος, τοῦ δὲ βραχέος  
 ὀκδομημένου, καὶ πυλῶν ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν

4 'In his way  
 through the  
 Euripus—he  
 marched up  
 some distance  
 from the sea to  
 Mykaléssus.—  
 Not only were  
 all the houses,  
 and even the  
 temples,  
 plundered—but  
 the Thracians  
 further mani-  
 fested that  
 raging thirst  
 for blood which  
 seemed inherent  
 in their race.'

ἀνεωγμένων. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ ῥί  
 Θράκες ἐς τὴν Μυκαλησσὸν τάς τε  
 οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπόρθουν καὶ 25  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφόνεον, φειδόμενοι  
 οὔτε πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε νεωτέρας  
 ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξῆς, ὅτῳ  
 ἐντύχοιεν, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας  
 κτείνοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑποζύγια 30  
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔμψυχα ἴδοιεν. τὸ  
 γὰρ γένος [τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν], ὁμοῖα

τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσῆσῃ,

5 φονικώτατόν ἐστι. καὶ τότε ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ  
 οὐκ ὀλίγη καὶ ἰδέα πᾶσα καθειστήκει ὀλέθρου, 35  
 καὶ ἐπιπесόντες διδασκαλείῳ παιδῶν, ὅπερ  
 μέγιστον ἦν αὐτόθι καὶ ἄρτι ἔτυχον οἱ παῖδες  
 ἐσεληλυθότες, κατέκοψαν πάντας· καὶ ξυμφορὰ  
 τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσω, μᾶλλον ἐτέρας

30 ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὕτη καὶ δεινὴ. οἱ δὲ

'The succour  
 brought from  
 Thebes—arrived  
 only in time to  
 avenge, not to

Θηβαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθουν, καὶ  
 καταλαβόντες προκεχωρηκότας ἤδη  
 τοὺς Θράκας οὐ πολὺ τὴν τε λείαν

3. οὐ B only; the rest omit.—τινα . . ἐπαναβάνας M.

4. [τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν] Sta.; τὸ om. B.

5. καθεστήκει M.

30 1. Θράκας προκεχωρηκότας M.

ἀφείλονται καὶ αὐτοὺς φοβήσαντες <sup>save, the in-</sup>  
καταδιώκουσιν ἐπὶ [τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ] τὴν θάλασ- <sup>habitants.</sup> 5  
2 σαν, οὗ αὐτοῖς τὰ πλοῖα ἃ ἤγαγεν ὥρμει. καὶ  
ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλεί-  
στους, οὔτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν, τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς  
πλοίοις, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὀρμισάντων ἔξω 10  
τοξεύματος τὰ πλοῖα, ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ ἄλλῃ  
ἀναχωρήσει οὐκ ἀτόπως οἱ Θραῖκες πρὸς τὸ τῶν  
Θηβαίων ἱππικόν, ὅπερ πρῶτον προσέκειτο,  
προεκθέοντές τε καὶ ξυστρεφόμενοι ἐν ἐπιχωρίω-  
τάξει τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν 15  
ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρησαν. μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἐν τῇ  
πόλει αὐτῇ δι' ἀρπαγὴν ἐγκαταληφθὲν ἀπώλετο.  
οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες τῶν Θρακῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ  
διακόσιοι ἀπὸ τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἀπέθανον.  
3 διέφθειραν δὲ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 20  
οἱ ξυνεβοήθησαν ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἱππέας τε  
καὶ ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ καὶ Θηβαίων τῶν βοιωταρχῶν  
Σκιρφώνδαν· τῶν δὲ Μυκαλησίων μέρος τι  
4 ἀπανηλώθη. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν <sup>'This scene was</sup>  
Μυκαλησσὸν πάθει <sup>novel and revolt-</sup> χρησαμένην <sup>ing.'</sup> 25  
οὐδενὸς ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον  
ἦσσαν ὀλοφύρασθαι ἄξιω τοιαῦτα ξυνέβη.  
1 Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης τότε αποπλέων ἐπὶ τῆς  
Κερκύρας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τείχισιν,

1. [καὶ τὴν θ.] Badham, Hw., Hu. ; [τὸν Εὐριπον καὶ] Sta.  
2. τοξεύματος Valla ; τοῦ ζεύματος B ; τοῦ ζεύγματος CAEFM.  
—προσεκθέοντες M.—τε B only ; the rest omit.—ξυστρεφόμενοι  
AEFM.

3. ἱππέας μάλιστα M.—τε om. M.

4. χρησαμένην Reiske, for MSS. χρησαμένων.

1. ἐπὶ B only ; the rest ἐκ.



ὀλκάδα ὁρμούσαν ἐν Φειᾷ τῇ Ἡλείων εὐρών, ἐν  
 ἣ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀπλῖται ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐμελλον  
 περαιούσθαι, αὐτὴν μὲν διαφθείρει, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες 5  
 ἀποφυγόντες ὕστερον λαβόντες ἄλλην ἐπλεον.  
 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφικόμενος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν  
 Ζάκυνθον καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν ὀπλίτας τε παρέ-  
 λαβε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν 10  
 ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας  
 διέβη, ἐς Ἀλυζιάν τε καὶ Ἀνακ-  
 τόριον, ὃ αὐτοὶ εἶχον. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ  
 3 περὶ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ἀπαντᾷ ἐκ  
 τῆς Σικελίας ἀποπλέων, ὃς τότε τοῦ 15  
 χειμῶνος τὰ χρήματα ἄγων τῇ  
 στρατιᾷ ἀπεπέμφθη, καὶ ἀγγέλλει  
 τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πύθοιτο κατὰ  
 πλοῦν ἤδη ὦν τὸ Πλημμύριον ὑπὸ  
 4 τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐαλωκός. ἀφικ- 20  
 νεῖται δὲ καὶ Κόνων παρ' αὐτούς, ὃς ἦρχε  
 Ναυπάκτου, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι αἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 νῆες τῶν Κορινθίων αἱ σφίσιν ἀνθορμούσαι  
 οὔτε κατοκνοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον ναυμαχεῖν τε  
 μέλλουσι· πέμπειν οὖν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ναῦς, ὥς 25  
 οὐχ ἱκανὰς οὔσας δυοῖν δεούσας εἴκοσι τὰς  
 ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι

1. εὐρών B only ; the rest omit.

4. καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον MSS. ; Madvig, Sta., Hu. bracket τὸν πόλεμον ; Hw. καταλύουσι τὴν φυλακὴν ; Badham καταλείπουσι τὸν πορθμόν ; Naber καταλύουσι τὸν σταθμόν ; Herbst τὸν πλοῦν ; Meineke καταπαύουσι. Cf. ii. 94 ἐνόμιζον . . ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνηῖσαι, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐγένετο.—δὲ οὔσαις M.—τὰς ἑαυτῶν B only ; the rest ταῖς ἐ.



5 ναυμαχεῖν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κόνωνι δέκα ναῦς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων τὰς ἄριστα σφίσι πλεούσας ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ εἶχον *ξυμπέμπουσι* πρὸς 30 τὰς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν *ξύλλογον* ἡτοιμάζοντο, Εὐρυμέδων μὲν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεύσας καὶ πεντεκαίδεκά τε ναῦς πληροῦν κελεύσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀπλίτας καταλεγόμενος (*ξυνῆρχε* γὰρ ἤδη Δημοσθένει 35 ἀποτραπόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ ἠρέθη), Δημοσθένης δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς *ξυναγεῖρων*.

32 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν τότε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλημμυρίου ἄλωσιν πρέσβεις *οἰχόμενοι* ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐπειδὴ *ἔπεισάν* τε καὶ *ξυναγεῖραντες* ἔμελλον *ἄξιεν* τὸν στρατόν, ὁ Νικίας προπυθόμενος πέμπει ἐς τῶν Σικελῶν τοὺς τὴν δίοδον ἔχοντας καὶ σφίσι *ξυμμάχους*, Κεντόριπας τε καὶ Ἀλικυαῖους καὶ ἄλλους, ὅπως μὴ *διαφρήσωσι* τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ *ξυστραφέντες* κωλύ- 10 σωσι *διελθεῖν*· ἄλλη γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ πειράσειν· Ἀκραγαντῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν διὰ 2 τῆς ἐαυτῶν ὁδόν. πορευομένων δ' ἤδη τῶν Σικελιωτῶν οἱ Σικελοί, καθάπερ ἐδέοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνέδραν τινὰ [τριχῇ] ποιησάμενοι, 15

5. ἀρίστας M.

32 1. τοῦ om. M.—σφίσι om. MT.—*διαφρήσωσι*] *διαφήσωσι* CM ; *διαφήσουσι* BAEFG ; *διαφρήσουσι* Dobree.—*κωλύσωσι* CMT ; *κωλύσουσι* BAEF.

2. *τριχῇ* om. M ; *τινὰ* om. B ; *τριχῇ τινὰ* T.

'The envoys [see c. 25 § 9] had found themselves almost everywhere well received.—But part of their scheme was frustrated by N. —The Sikeli tribes—were prevailed upon to attack the approaching enemy.'

5

ἀφυλάκτοις τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενοι διέφθειραν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ Κορινθίου πάντας· οὗτος δὲ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἐκόμισεν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας.

20

- 33 Καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ Καρναῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντες, πεντακόσιοι μὲν ὀπλίται, τριακόσιοι δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ τοξόται τριακόσιοι. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ οἱ 5 Γελῶροι ναυτικόν τε ἐς πέντε ναῦς καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς τετρακοσίους καὶ 2 ἱππέας διακοσίους. σχεδὸν γάρ τι ἤδη πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία, πλὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων (οὔτοι δ' οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἦσαν), οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 10 μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ πρότερον περιορώμενοι ξυστάντες ἐβοήθουν.

Exumes  
object

- 3 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι, ὥς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐν τοῖς Σικελοῖς πάθος ἐγένετο, ἐπέσχον τὸ εὐθέως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ 15 Εὐρυμέδων, ἐτοίμης ἤδη τῆς στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐπεραιώθησαν ξυμπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐπ' ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν· καὶ ὀρμηθέντες αὐτόθεν κατ- 20 ἴσχουσιν ἐς τὰς Χοιράδας νήσους Ἰαπυγίας, καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς τέ τινας [τῶν Ἰαπύ-

33 3. ἐπέσχον τὸ CM ; ἐπέσχον, τὸ, T ; ἐπέσχοντο the rest.—ξὺν πᾶσῃ M.—Ἰώνιον M.

4. [τῶν Ἰαπύγων] Hw., Sta.

γων] πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τοῦ Μεσσαπίου  
 ἔθνους ἀναβιβάζονται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τῷ  
 Ἄρτα, ὅσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς δυνάστης ὧν 25  
 παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς, ἀνανεῶσάμενοί τινα παλαιὰν  
 φιλίαν, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Μεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰτα-  
 5 λίας. καὶ τοὺς Μεταποντίους πείσαντες κατὰ τὸ  
 ξυμμάχικόν ἀκοντιστάς τε ξυνπέμπειν τριακο-  
 σίους καὶ τριήρεις δύο καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντες ταῦτα 30  
 παρέπλευσαν ἐς Θουρίαν. καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι  
 νεώστὶ στάσει τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐναντίους  
 6 ἐκπεπτωκότας· καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν  
 αὐτόθι πᾶσαν ἀθροίσαντες εἴ τις ὑπελέλειπτο  
 ἐξετάσαι, καὶ τοὺς Θουρίους πείσαι σφίσι ξυ- 35  
 στρατεύειν τε ὡς προθυμότατα καί, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν  
 τούτῳ τύχης εἰσί, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ  
 φίλους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νομίζειν, περιέμενον ἐν  
 τῇ Θουρίᾳ καὶ ἔπρασσον ταῦτα.

34 Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον  
 τοῦτον \* οἱ ἐν ταῖς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 ναυσίν, οἵπερ τῶν ὀλκάδων ἕνεκα τῆς  
 ἐς Σικελίαν κομιδῆς ἀνθρώρμουν πρὸς  
 τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς, παρασκευα-  
 σάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία καὶ προσ-  
 πληρώσαντες ἔτι ναῦς, ὥστε ὀλίγῳ  
 ἐλάσσους εἶναι αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀττικῶν  
 νεῶν, ὀρμίζονται κατὰ Ἐρινεὸν τῆς  
 2 Ἀχαΐας ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ. καὶ αὐτοῖς

‘Meanwhile the mouth of the Cor. Gulf again became the theatre of naval encounter.—The Cor. fleet took up its station on the coast of Achaia.—After considerable delay, the Cor. began the attack.—The battle lasted some time.—Each party

10

4. ὥσπερ M.

5. πέμπειν ξυνπέμπειν M.

34 1. περὶ B only; the rest καὶ οἱ περὶ.

thought itself  
entitled to erect  
a trophy.

τοῦ χωρίου μνηοειδοῦς ὄντος ἐφ' ᾧ  
ὥρμουν, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἐκατέρωθεν  
προσβεβροθηκῶς τῶν τε Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν  
αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνεχούσαις ἄκραις  
παρετέτακτο, αἱ δὲ νῆες τὸ μεταξὺ εἶχον ἐμφράξ- 15  
ασαι· ἦρχε δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Πολυάνθης Κορίν-  
3 θιος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου τριά-  
κοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τρισὶν (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Δίφιλος)  
4 ἐπέπλευσαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον ἡσύχάζον, ἔπειτα ἀρθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ 20  
σημείου, ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐναυμάχουν. καὶ χρόνον  
5 ἀντεῖχον πολὺν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν Κοριν-  
θίων τρεῖς νῆες διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων  
κατέδυν μὲν οὐδεμία ἀπλῶς, ἑπτὰ δὲ τινες ἄπλοι 25  
ἐγένοντο, ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλλόμεναι καὶ ἀναρρα-  
γεῖσαι τὰς παρεξαιρεσίας ὑπὸ τῶν  
Κορινθίων νεῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παχυ-  
6 τέρας τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐχουσῶν. ναυ-  
μαχήσαντες δὲ ἀντίπαλα μὲν καὶ ὡς 30  
αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρους ἀξιοῦν νικᾶν, ὅμως  
δὲ τῶν ναυαγίων κρατησάντων τῶν  
Ἀθηναίων διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αὐτῶν  
εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι  
ἐπαναγωγὴν, διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ δίωξις 35  
οὐδεμία ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἄνδρες οὐδετέρων ἐάλωσαν,  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς  
τῇ γῇ ναυμαχοῦντες ῥαδίως διεσφύζοντο, τῶν δὲ

2. προσβεβροθηκῶς B only; the rest προσβεβροθηκότες.

5. ἀναρριγεῖσαι M.—τῶν before Κορινθίων om. M.

6. ῥαδίως B only; the rest καί.



7 Ἀθηναίων οὐδεμία κατέδυν ναῦς. ἀποπλευσάντων  
 δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον οἱ Κορίνθιοι 40  
 εὐθὺς τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ὡς νικῶντες, ὅτι πλείους  
 τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, καὶ νομί-  
 σαντες αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἡσσᾶσθαι δι' ὅπερ οὐδ' οἱ  
 ἕτεροι νικᾶν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι ἡγήσαντο  
 κρατεῖν εἰ μὴ καὶ πολὺν ἐκρατοῦντο, 'The real feeling 45  
 οἳ τ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμιζον ἡσσᾶσθαι of victory lay on  
 8 ὅτι οὐ πολὺν ἐνίκων. ἀποπλευσάν- the side of  
 των δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τοῦ Corinth, and  
 πεζοῦ διαλυθέντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔστησαν τρο- that of defeat on  
 παῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ ὡς νικήσαντες, 50 the side of A.'  
 ἀπέχον τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν,  
 ὡς εἴκοσι σταδίους. καὶ ἡ μὲν ναυμαχία οὕτως  
 ἐτελεύτα.

35 Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων, ἐπειδὴ  
 ξυστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς οἱ Θούριοι παρε- 'Thurii  
 σκευάσθησαν ἑπτακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλί- equipped a force  
 ταις, τριακοσίοις δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς, τὰς of 700 hoplites  
 μὲν ναῦς παραπλεῖν ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ and 300 darters  
 τῆς Κροτωνιάτιδος, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν to accompany  
 πεζὸν πάντα ἐξετάσαντες πρῶτον Demosth.' 5  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Συβάρει ποταμῷ ἦγον διὰ 'Kroton forbade  
 2 τῆς Θουριάδος γῆς. καὶ ὡς ἐγένοντο the access to  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑλῖᾳ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κροτωνιάται 10 their territory:  
 προσπέμφαντες εἶπον οὐκ ἂν σφίσι βουλομένοις upon which he  
 got on ship-  
 board, and pur-  
 sued his voyage  
 southward.'

7. αὐτοὶ Cl., Sta., Hw., Sitz.; αὐτὸ B; the rest δι' αὐτό.—  
 ἡττᾶσθαι M.—καὶ before πολὺ B only; the rest omit.—ὅτι οὐ  
 with B only, Cl., Sta. (ed. ster.), Hw., Bh., Sitz.; the rest εἰ  
 μὴ.

8. ξυμμαχία M.

35 2. κροτωνιάται BAEFGT; κροτωνιαται (sic) CM.

εἶναι διὰ τῆς γῆς σφῶν τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι, ἐπι-  
καταβάντες ἠϋλίσαντο πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ  
τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ὑλίου· καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐς  
τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπήντων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀναβιβασά- 15  
μενοι παρέπλεον, ἴσχοντες πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσι  
πλήν Λοκρῶν, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς  
Ῥηγίνης.

- 36 Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ πυνθανόμενοι  
αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐθις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπο-  
πειράσαι ἐβούλοντο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
παρασκευῇ τοῦ πεζοῦ, ἣν περ ἐπ'  
αὐτὸ τοῦτο (πρὶν ἐλθεῖν) αὐτοὺς φθά- 5  
σαι βουλόμενοι ξυνέλεγον. παρ-  
εσκευάσαντο δὲ τό τε ἄλλο ναυτικὸν  
ὥς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας τι  
πλέον ἐνείδον σχήσοντες, καὶ τὰς  
πρώρας τῶν νεῶν ξυντεμόντες ἐς 10  
ἐλασσον, στεριφωτέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὰς  
ἐπωτίδας ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς πρώραις παχείας, καὶ  
ἀντήριδας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέτειναν πρὸς τοὺς  
τοίχους ὥς ἐπὶ ἕξ πήχεις ἐντός τε καὶ ἔξωθεν·  
ᾧ περ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ 15  
Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς ἐπισκευασάμενοι πρόραθεν ἐναυ-  
μάχουν. ἐνόμισαν γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὰς  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀντιφενauπηγη-  
μένας, ἀλλὰ λεπτὰ τὰ πρόραθεν ἐχούσας διὰ τὸ  
μὴ ἀντιπρώροις μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου 20

36 2. τοῦ τείχους M.

3. ἀντὶ νενauπηγημένας M.—ἀντιπρώροις γὰρ Reiske, and most  
edd., for MSS. ἀντίπρωροι γάρ.

ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔλασσον σχήσειν,  
καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐν  
πολλῷ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν οὔσαν, πρὸς ἑαυτῶν  
ἔσεσθαι· ἀντιπρώροις γὰρ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρώ-  
μενοὶ ἀναρρήξειν τὰ πρόραθεν αὐτοῖς, στερίφοις <sup>25</sup>  
καὶ παχέσι πρὸς κοῖλα καὶ ἀσθενῇ παίοντες τοῖς  
<sup>4</sup> ἐμβόλοις. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ  
ἔσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε  
περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν, ὥπερ τῆς  
τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον· αὐτοὶ  
γὰρ (κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν) τὸ μὲν οὐ  
δώσειν διέκπλουν, τὸ δὲ τὴν στενο-  
χωρίαν κωλύσειν ὥστε μὴ περιπλεῖν.  
<sup>5</sup> τῇ τε πρότερον ἀμαθία τῶν κύβερνητῶν δοκούσῃ  
εἶναι, τῷ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκρούσαι, μάλιστ' ἂν <sup>35</sup>  
αὐτοὶ χρήσασθαι· πλείστον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ  
σχήσειν· τὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις ἐξωθουμένοις ἄλλοσε ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ ταύτην δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἐς ὀλίγον, κατ' αὐτὸ  
<sup>6</sup> τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑαυτῶν· τοῦ δ' ἄλλου <sup>40</sup>  
λιμένος, αὐτοὶ κρατήσιν, καὶ ξυμφερομένους  
αὐτούς, ἣν πη βιάζονται, ἐς ὀλίγον τε καὶ  
πάντας ἐς τὸ αὐτό, προσπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις  
ταράξεσθαι (ὥπερ καὶ ἔβλαπτε μάλιστα τοὺς  
Ἀθηναίους ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυμαχίαις, οὐκ <sup>45</sup>

'The A. were  
cooped up close  
on the station of  
their enemies—  
so that they  
could not pull  
round for want  
of space, nor  
could they back  
water, because  
they durst not  
come near shore.'

3. παίοντες B only; the rest παρέχοντες; προσέχοντες Hu.

4. διέκπλουν B only; the rest διεκπλεῖν; [διεκπλεῖν] and [ὥστε μὴ περιπλεῖν] Cobet, Sta., Hw., Hu.

5. τῷ for MSS. τὸ (τὸν AF) Kr., Cl., Hw., Sitz.—ἀντίπρωρους T; ἀντίπρωροι Kr.; εἶναι ἀντιπρῶρῳ ξυγκρούσει Sta.; εἶναι ἐς τὸ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκρούσει Madvig.—συγκρούσαι MT; συγκρούσει AEF; ξυγκρούσει CG.

οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐς πάντα τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἀνακρού-  
 σεως, ὥσπερ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, περιπλεῦσαι δὲ  
 ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, (σφῶν ἐχόντων  
 τὴν ἐπίπλευσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους  
 τε καὶ ἀνάκρουσιν,) οὐ δυνήσεσθαι 50  
 αὐτούς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου πολεμίου  
 τε αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου καὶ τοῦ στόματος οὐ μεγάλου  
 ὄντος τοῦ λιμένος.

- 37 Τοιαῦτα οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
 ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐπινόη-  
 σαντες, καὶ ἅμα τεθαρσηκότες μᾶλλον  
 ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ναυμαχίας,  
 ἐπεχείρουν τῷ τε πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ ταῖς 5  
 ναυσί. καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ὀλίγω  
 πρότερον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Γύλιπ-  
 πος προεξαγαγὼν προσήγε τῷ τείχει τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων, καθ' ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ  
 ἑώρα· καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου, οἳ τε ὀπλῖται 10  
 ὅσοι ἐκεῖ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς καὶ ἡ γυμνητεία τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσήει τῷ τείχει·  
 αἱ δὲ νῆες μετὰ τοῦτο εὐθὺς ἐπεξέπλεον τῶν  
 3 Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς οἰόμενοι τῷ πεζῷ 15  
 μόνῳ πειράσειν, ὁρῶντες δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 ναὺς ἐπιφερομένας ἄφνω, ἐθορυ-  
 βοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ

'The Syr. relied  
 on the narrow-  
 ness of the  
 space.'

6. λιμένα κρούσεως M.

1. τεθαρρηκότες M.

2. τὸν after πρότερον om. M.—οὔτε for οἳ τε M.—ἐπεξέπλεον  
 B only; the rest ἐξέπλεον.

3. ἄφνω M.



πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς προσιοῦσιν day passed off in  
desultory skir-  
mish.' 20  
ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου καὶ τῶν ἔξω κατὰ τάχος  
χωροῦντας ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀκοντιστάς  
ἀντεπεξῆσαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ  
ἅμα ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν παρεβοήθουν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
πλήρεις ἦσαν ἀντανήγον πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα 25  
ναῦς· καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν ὀγδοήκοντα  
**38** μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσπλέοντες  
καὶ ἀνακρουόμενοι [καὶ] πειράσαντες ἀλλήλων  
καὶ οὐδέτεροι δυνάμενοι ἄξιόν τι λόγου παραλα-  
βεῖν, εἰ μὴ ναὺν μίαν ἢ δύο τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ  
Συρακόσιοι καταδύσαντες, διεκρίθησαν· καὶ ὁ 5  
πεζὸς ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπῆλθε.

**2** Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἡσύχαζον,  
οὐδὲν δηλοῦντες ὁποῖόν τι τὸ μέλλον  
ποιήσουσιν· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἰδὼν ἀντί-  
παλα τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας γενόμενα  
καὶ ἐλπίζων αὐτοὺς αὐθις ἐπιχειρή-  
σειν, τοὺς τε τριηράρχους ἠνάγκαζεν  
ἐπισκευάζειν τὰς ναῦς, εἴ τίς τι  
ἐπεπονήκει, καὶ ὀλκάδας προώρμισε  
πρὸ τοῦ σφετέρου σταυρώματος, ὃ 10  
αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀντὶ λιμένος κληστοῦ ἐν  
**3** τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπεπήγει. διαλειπούσας δὲ τὰς  
ὀλκάδας ὅσον δύο πλέθρα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατέ-  
στησεν, ὅπως, εἴ τις βιάζοιτο ναῦς, εἴη κατὰ- 15

- 38** 3. ἀντεπαρατάσσοντο M.—οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι M.  
1. [καὶ] Cl., Sta., Bh., Hw., Hu., Sitz.  
2. τι after τίς om. M.—προώρμισε M.—κλειστοῦ M.  
3. διαλειπούσας M.

φευξίς ἀσφαλὴς καὶ πάλιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἔκπλους. 20  
 παρασκευαζόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν  
 διετέλεσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέχρι νυκτός.

- 39 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ Συρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ὥρας  
 πρῶτον, τῇ δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει τῇ  
 αὐτῇ τοῦ τε πεζοῦ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ  
 προσέμισγον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ  
 ἀντικαταστάντες ταῖς ναυσὶ τὸν 5  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον αὖθις ἐπὶ πολὺ διήγου  
 τῆς ἡμέρας πειρώμενοι ἀλλήλων,  
 πρὶν δὴ Ἀρίστων ὁ Πυρρίχου Κορ-  
 ἰνθίος, ἄριστος ὢν κυβερνήτης τῶν  
 μετὰ Συρακοσίων, πείθει τοὺς 10  
 σφετέρους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἄρχοντας,  
 πέμψαντας ὥς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 ἐπιμελομένους, κελεύειν ὅτι τάχιστα  
 τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν πωλουμένων παρὰ  
 τὴν θάλασσαν μεταστήσαι κομί- 15  
 σαντας, καὶ ὅσα τις ἔχει ἐδώδιμα,  
 πάντας ἐκεῖσε φέροντας ἀναγκάσαι  
 πωλεῖν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἐκβιβάσαντες

τοὺς ναύτας εὐθὺς παρὰ τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιή-  
 σονται, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις καὶ αὐθημερόν 20

- 40 ἀπροσδοκῆτοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρῶσι. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἔπεμψαν ἄγγελον, καὶ ἡ  
 ἀγορὰ παρεσκευάσθη, καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐξαίφ-  
 νης πρῦμναν κρουσάμενοι πάλιν πρὸς τὴν

- 39 1. πρῶτον all but B, which has πρῶϊτερον ἢ τὸ πρῶτερον.  
 2. μὲν for μετὰ M.—ἀριστοποιήσονται M; ἀριστον ποιήσονται  
 B; the rest ἀριστοποιήσονται.—αὖθις καὶ twice M.

πόλιν ἔπλευσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκβάντες αὐτοῦ<sup>5</sup> ὅτι καὶ  
οὐκ ἔστι  
 2 ἄριστον ἐποιοῦντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες  
 αὐτοὺς ὡς ἡσσημένους σφῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἀνακρούσασθαι, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐκβάντες τὰ τε  
 ἄλλα διεπράσσοντο καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὡς  
 τῆς γε ἡμέρας ταύτης οὐκέτι οἰόμενοι ἂν ναυ- 10  
 3 μαχήσai. ἐξαίφνης δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πληρώ-  
 σαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐπέπλεον αὐθις. οἱ δὲ διὰ  
 πολλοῦ θορύβου, καὶ ἄσιτοι οἱ πλείους, οὐδενὶ  
 4 κόσμῳ ἐσβάντες μόλις ποτὲ ἀντανήγοντο. καὶ  
 χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπέσχοντο ἀλλήλων φυλασ- 15  
 σόμενοι· ἔπειτα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν διαμέλλοντας κόπῳ ἀλίσκεσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ ἐπιφερόμενοι  
 5 ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἐναυμάχουν. οἱ δὲ Συρα-  
 κόσιοι δεξάμενοι καὶ ταῖς [τε] ναυσὶν ἀντιπρώροις 20  
 χρώμενοι, ὥσπερ διενοήθησαν, τῶν ἐμβόλων τῇ  
 παρασκευῇ ἀνερρήγνυσαν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 ναῦς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς παρ᾽ ἐξαιρεσίας, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν καταστρωμάτων αὐτοῖς ἀκοντίζοντες μεγάλα  
 ἔβλαπτον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζω 25  
 οἱ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς πλοίοις περιπλέοντες τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων καὶ ἔς τε τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποπίπ-  
 τοντες τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πλάγια  
 παραπλέοντες καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ναύτας  
 1 ἀκοντίζοντες. τέλος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατὰ  
 κράτος ναυμαχοῦντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐνίκησαν,

0 2. ἡσσημένων M.

3. μόλις B only; the rest μόγεις.

5. τε before ναυσὶν om. AFGM.—ἐμβολῶν MSS. Cor. Abresch (Diluc. p. 691).

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τραπόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὀλκάδων  
τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐποιούντο ἐς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄρμον.

2 αἱ δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων νῆες μέχρι μὲν τῶν 5  
ὀλκάδων ἐπεδίωκον· ἔπειτα αὐτοὺς αἱ <sup>κεραῖαι</sup> κεραῖαι  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑσπλῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλκάδων δέλ-  
3 φινοφόροι ἡρμέναι ἐκώλυνον. δύο δὲ νῆες τῶν  
Συρακοσίων ἐπαιρόμεναι τῇ νίκῃ προσέμειξαν  
αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα 10  
4 αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐάλω. καταδύσαντες δ' οἱ  
Συρακόσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑπτὰ ναῦς καὶ  
κατατραυματίσαντες πολλὰς, ἀνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν  
ζωγρήσαντες τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες, ἀπεχώρη-  
σαν, καὶ τροπαῖά τε ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ναυμαχιῶν 15  
ἔστησαν, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἤδη ἐχυρὰν εἶχον ταῖς  
μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ πολὺ κρείσσους εἶναι, ἐδόκουν δὲ  
καὶ τὸν πεζὸν χειρώσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥς  
ἐπιθησόμενοι κατ' ἀμφοτέρα παρεσκευάζοντο  
αὐθις.

20

42 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυμέδων  
ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
βοήθειαν παραγίγνονται, ναῦς τε  
τρεῖς καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μάλιστα ξὺν  
ταῖς ξενικαῖς καὶ ὀπλίτας περὶ 5  
πεντακισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν  
ξυμμάχων, ἀκοντιστάς τε βαρβάρους  
καὶ Ἕλληνας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ σφεν-  
δονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
παρασκευὴν ἱκανήν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν 10

‘All their cal-  
culations were  
suspended, how-  
ever, and the  
hopes of the A.  
for the time  
revived, by the  
entry of  
Demosth. and  
Eur. into the  
Gt. Harbour.—  
At the sight of  
such an arma-  
ment, the Syr.  
lost for a  
moment the  
confidence of



Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις κατὰ- their recent triumph.  
 πληξίς ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα οὐκ ὀλίγη  
 ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρας μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ  
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου, ὀρώντες οὔτε διὰ τὴν  
 Δεκέλειαν τειχιζομένην οὐδὲν ἦσσαν στρατὸν 15  
 ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεληλυθότα  
 τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν πανταχόσε  
 πολλὴν φαινομένην· τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ στρατεύ-  
 ματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ῥώμη τις  
 ἐγεγένητο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἰδὼν ὡς εἶχε τὰ 20  
 πράγματα, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ οἷόν τε  
 εἶναι διατρίβειν οὐδὲ παθεῖν ὅπερ ὁ  
 Νικίας ἔπαθεν (ἀφικόμενος γὰρ τὸ  
 πρῶτον ὁ Νικίας φοβερός, ὡς οὐκ  
 εὐθὺς προσέκειτο ταῖς Συρακούσαις 25  
 ἀλλ' ἐν Κατάνῃ διεχέιμαζεν, ὑπεβώφθη τε καὶ  
 ἔφθασεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατιᾷ ὁ  
 Γύλιππος ἀφικόμενος, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν μετέπεμψαν οἱ  
 Συρακόσιοι, εἰ ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐπέκειτο· ἱκανοὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἅμα τ' ἂν ἔμαθον 30  
 ἦσσαν ὄντες καὶ ἀποτετευχισμένοι ἂν ἦσαν,  
 ὥστε μηδ' εἰ μετέπεμψαν ἔτι ὁμοίως ἂν αὐτοὺς  
 ὠφελεῖν), ταῦτα οὖν ἀνασκοπῶν ὁ Δημοσθένης  
 καὶ γιγνώσκων ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῇ  
 πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα δεινότατός ἐστι τοῖς 35  
 ἐναντίοις, ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχος ἀποchrήσασθαι τῇ  
 παρούσῃ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκπλήξει. καὶ  
 ὀρῶν τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων,

2. σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι M. — πολλὴν πανταχόσε M.

3. γινώσκων M.

'The counter-wall built by the Syr. was a complete bar to his progress.'

ὃ ἐκώλυσαν περιτειχίσαι σφᾶς  
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀπλοῦν [τε] ὃν καί, 10  
εἰ κρατήσῃ τις τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν  
τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὐθις τοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς στρα-  
τοπέδου, ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτὸ ληφθέν (οὐδὲ γὰρ  
ὑπομῖναι ἂν σφᾶς οὐδένα), ἠπεύγετο ἐπιθέσθαι  
τῇ πείρᾳ, καὶ οἱ ξυντομωτάτην ἠγείτο διωπο- 15  
5 λέμῃσιν· ἥ γὰρ κατορθώσας ἔξειν Συρακούσας ἢ  
ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ οὐ τρίψεσθαι ἄλλως  
Ἀθηναίους τε τοὺς ξυστρατενομένους καὶ τὴν  
ξύμπασαν πόλιν.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὴν τε γῆν ἐξελθόντες τῶν 50  
'He began by trying—to storm it in front; but—every attempt was repulsed. There remained only the second method—to turn the wall.'

Συρακοσίων ἔτεμον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ  
τὸν Ἀναπον καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι  
ἐπεκράτουν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, τῷ  
τε πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ  
καθ' ἕτερα οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἀντεπῆξῃ- 55

σαν <sup>εμεῖς</sup> ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς ἀπὸ  
43 τοῦ Ὀλυμπιείου). ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς ἔδοξε τῷ  
Δημοσθένει πρότερον ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ παρα-  
τειχίσματος. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντι κατε-  
καύθησάν τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους  
ἀμυνομένων αἱ μηχαναὶ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ 5  
πολλαχῇ προσβάλλοντες ἀπεκρούοντο, οὐκέτι  
ἐδόκει διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τὸν τε Νικίαν  
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνάρχοντας, ὥς ἐπενόει, καὶ τὴν  
2 ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἡμέρας

4. ἀπλοῦν τε ὃν all but B.—τε before Ἐπιπολῶν B only.—  
οἱ B only.

5. τρίψεσθαι all but B.

43

1. ὥς before ἐπενόει B only; the rest om.

μὲν ἀδύνατα ἐδόκει εἶναι λαθεῖν προσελθόντας 10  
 τε καὶ ἀναβάντας, παραγγείλας δὲ  
 πέντε ἡμερῶν σιτία καὶ τοὺς λιθο-  
 λόγους καὶ τέκτονας πάντας λαβὼν  
 καὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν τοξευμάτων

‘But the march  
 necessary was so  
 difficult—that he  
 was constrained  
 to attempt a  
 night-surprise.’

τε καὶ ὅσα ἔδει ἦν κρατῶσι τειχίζοντας ἔχειν, 15  
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ πρώτου ὑπνίου καὶ Εὐρυμέδων  
 καὶ Μένανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν πέζην στρατιὰν  
 ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς, Νικίας δὲ ἐν τοῖς

3 τείχεσιν ὑπελείπετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πρὸς

αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ἥπερ καὶ 20  
 ἢ προτέρα στρατιὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέβη,  
 λαυθάνουσί τε τοὺς φύλακας τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων καὶ προσβάντες τὸ

‘He reached,  
 without being  
 discovered, the  
 extreme Syr.  
 fort on the high  
 ground—and  
 captured it.’

τείχισμα ὃ ἦν αὐτόθι τῶν Συρακοσίων αἰρουῦσι

4 καὶ ἄνδρας τῶν φυλάκων ἀποκτείνουσιν· οἱ δὲ 25

πλείους διαφυγόντες εὐθύς πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα,

ἃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία ἐν προτειχίσμασιν,

ἐν μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἐν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Σίκε-

λιωτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ἀγγέλλουσι τὴν

ἔφοδον, καὶ τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις τῶν Συρακοσίων, οἱ 30

καὶ πρῶτοι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν

5 φύλακες ἦσαν, ἔφραζόν. οἱ δ’ ἐβοήθουν τ’ εὐθύς,

καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν-

τυχόντες ἀμυνομένους προθύμως ἔτρεψαν. καὶ

αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθύς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅπως τῇ 35

2. ἀδύνατα B only; the rest ἀδύνατον.—πεζὴν Wölfflin;  
 πρώτην B; πᾶσαν the rest; πολλήν Pr.—ἐπιπολλάς M.—υπε-  
 λείπετο B only; the rest ὑπελέλειπτο.

4. ἐν προτειχίσμασιν B only; the rest om.

παρούσῃ ὀρμῇ τοῦ περαίνεσθαι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον

‘But both he  
and his men, too  
much flushed  
with success—  
hastened for-  
ward to com-  
plete their  
victory. Their  
ardour—dis-  
turbed their  
ranks, so that  
they were not  
in condition to  
stand the shock  
of the Boeotian  
hoplites.’

μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ  
τῆς πρώτης τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν  
Συρακοσίων, οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τῶν  
φυλάκων, ἤρουν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις 40  
ἀπέσυρον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ  
ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ μετ’  
αὐτοῦ ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμά-  
των, καὶ ἀδοκίτου τοῦ πολμήματος  
ἐν νυκτὶ σφίσι γενομένου προσ- 45

έβαλόν τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ  
βιασθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρησαν.

7 προϊόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἀφαξία μᾶλλον  
ἤδη ὡς κεκρατηκότων καὶ βουλομένων διὰ παν-  
τὸς τοῦ μήπω μέμαχημένου τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς 50  
τάχιστα διελθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ μανέντων σφῶν τῆς ἐφ-  
όδου αὐθις ξυστραφῶσιν, οἱ Βοιωτοὶ πρῶτοι αὐτοῖς  
ἀντέσχον καὶ προσβαλόντες ἔτρεψάν τε καὶ ἐς  
φυγὴν κατέστησαν. ✕

44 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ  
ἀπορίᾳ ἐγίγνοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἣν  
οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι ῥάδιον ἦν οὐδ’ ἀφ’  
ἐτέρων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστα ξυνηνέχθη.  
ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ σαφέστερα μὲν, 5  
ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ παραγενόμενοι πάντα  
πλήν τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος μόλις οἶδεν· ἐν δὲ  
νυκτομαχίᾳ, ἣ μόνῃ δὴ στρατοπέδων μεγάλων

‘The light of  
the moon  
rendered objects  
visible, without  
being sufficient  
to distinguish  
friend from foe.’

5. τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρατείχισμα BCAEFG; cor. Göller;  
τὸ om. MT.

6. ἐβοήθουν τὲ ἐκ M.—προσέβαλόν E; the rest προσέβαλλόν.



ἐν γε τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἂν τις  
 2 σαφῶς τι ᾗδει; ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἑσπέρην λαμπρά, 10  
 ἐώρων δὲ οὕτως ἀλλήλους ὥς ἐν σελήνῃ εἰκὸς  
 τὴν μὲν ὄψιν τοῦ σώματος προορᾶν, τὴν δὲ  
 γνῶσιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεῖσθαι. ὀπλῖται δὲ  
 ἀμφοτέρων οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀνεστρέ-  
 3 φοντο. καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἐνικῶντο, 15  
 οἱ δὲ ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ ἀήσθητοι  
 ἐχώρουν. πολὺν δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου  
 στρατεύματος αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἄρτι  
 ἀνεβεβήκει, τὸ δ' ἔτι προσανῆει,  
 ὥστ' οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι. 20  
 ἤδη γὰρ τὰ πρόσθεν τῆς τροπῆς γεγενημένης ἐτε-  
 τάρακτο πάντα καὶ χαλεπὰ ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς  
 4 διαγνῶναι. οἳ τε γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ-  
 μαχοι κρατοῦντες παρεκελεύοντό τε κραυγῇ οὐκ  
 ὀλίγῃ χρώμενοι, ἀδύνατον ὃν ἐν νυκτὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ 25  
 σημῇναι, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς προσφερομένους ἐδέχοντο.  
 οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐζήτουν τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶν  
 τὸ ἐξ ἐναντίας, καὶ εἰ φίλιον εἶη τῶν  
 ἤδη πάλιν φευγόντων, πολέμιον ἐνό-  
 μιζον, καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι τοῦ ξυν-  
 5 ἰθήματος πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλῳ  
 τῷ γνωρίσαι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς θόρυβον πολὺν  
 παρείχον ἅμα πάντες ἐρωτῶντες, καὶ τοῖς πολε-  
 5 μίοις σαφὲς αὐτὸ κατέστησαν. τὸ δ' ἐκείνων οὐχ  
 ὁμοίως ἠπίσταντο, διὰ τὸ κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ 35  
 μὴ διεσπασμένους ἦσσαν ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν

'The fugitives of  
 the van were  
 driven back  
 upon their com-  
 rades advancing  
 from behind.'

'The whole  
 army became  
 one scene of  
 clamour and  
 confusion.'

30

ἐντύχοιέν τισι κρείσσους ὄντες τῶν πολεμίων,  
 διέφευγον αὐτοὺς ἅτε ἐκείνων ἐπιστάμενοι τὸ ξύν-  
 θημα, | εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ὑποκρίνονται, διεφθείροντο.  
 6 μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔβλαψεν ὁ παιανίς- 40  
 μός· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσιος ὢν ἀπο-  
 ρίαν παρείχεν. οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἳ Κερ-  
 κυραῖοι καὶ ὅσον Δωρικὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν  
 ὁπότε παιανίσειαν, φόβον παρείχε τοῖς Ἀθη-  
 7 ναίοις, οἳ τε πολέμιοι ὁμοίως. ὥστε τέλος ξυμ- 45  
 πεσόντες αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου,  
 ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἐταράχθησαν, φίλοι τε φίλοις καὶ  
 πολῖται πολίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐς φόβον κατέστησαν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες μόλις ἀπε-  
 8 λύνοντο. καὶ διωκόμενοι κατὰ τε τῶν κρημνῶν 50  
 [οἳ] πολλοὶ ῥίπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, στενῆς  
 οὔσης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν πάλιν καταβάσεως,  
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν οἱ σφζόμενοι ἄνωθεν  
 καταβαίνειν, οἳ μὲν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ὅσοι ἦσαν τῶν προτέρων στρατιωτῶν 55  
 ἐμπειρίᾳ μᾶλλον τῆς χώρας ἐς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον διεφύγγανον, οἳ δὲ  
 ὕστερον ἦκοντες εἰσὶν οἳ διαμαρτύντες τῶν ὁδῶν

‘With terrible  
 loss and broken  
 spirit, the A. at  
 length found  
 refuge in their  
 own lines.’

5. ἐντύχοιε M; -ν M in margin.—ὑποκρίνονται] κρίνονται B;  
 “ὑποκρίνονται pro ἀποκρίνονται omnes tumentur veteres gram-  
 matici, quanquam Eustathius eam formam maxime ionicis  
 scriptoribus vindicat.”—Haacke.

6. παιωνισμός and παιωνίσειαν M.

7. αὐτοῖς M.—ἀλλήλοις om. M.

8. κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίπτοντες] cf. c. 45, 2. “Aliquem de  
 saxo dare praecipitem dicitur ῥίπτειν, ὥθειν τινά, βάλλειν, ἀφιέναι  
 τινά κατὰ πέτρας, non ἀπὸ πέτρας.” Cobet, *V.L.* 277. Hence  
 Eur. *H.F.* 320 *ιέναι πέτρας* ἀπο should probably be altered.—  
 [οἳ] Bloomfield. Neither Plutarch nor Valla seems to have  
 found it.—καταβαίνειν, οἳ μὲν B; the rest καταβαίνουεν.

κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλανήθησαν· οὓς, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα <sup>cut 41</sup>  
ἐγένετο, οἱ ἱππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων περιελάσαντες 60  
διέφθειραν.

45 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι δύο τροπαῖα  
ἔστησαν, ἐπὶ τε ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς ἢ ἡ πρόσβασις  
καὶ κατὰ τὸ χωρίον ἢ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ πρῶτον ἀντέ-  
στησαν· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόν-  
2 δους ἐκομίσαντο. ἀπέθανον δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν 5  
τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅπλα μέντοι ἔτι πλείω ἢ  
κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθη· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν  
κρημνῶν βιασθέντες ἄλλεσθαι ψιλοὶ [ἀνευ τῶν  
ἀσπίδων] οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐσώθησαν.

46 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ὡς ἐπὶ  
ἀπροσδοκῆτ' εὐπραγία πάλιν αὖ ἀναρρωσθέντες,  
ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐς μὲν Ἀκρά- 'Again masters  
γαντα στασιάζοντα πεντεκαίδεκα of the field, the  
ναυσὶ Σικανὸν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅπως S. again in-  
ἐπαγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν 'εἰ δύναιτο. 5 dulg'd the hope  
of storming the  
A. lines.—G.  
went to obtain  
additional rein-  
forcements.'

Γύλιππος δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐς τὴν ἄλλην  
Σικελίαν ὄχκετο αὐθις, ἄξων στρατιὰν ἔτι, ὡς ἐν  
ἐλπίδι ὦν καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰρήσειν  
βία, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς οὕτω ξυνέβη. 10

47 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατῆγοι ἐν τούτῳ  
ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τε τὴν γεγενημένην ξυμφορὰν  
καὶ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ  
πάντα ἀρρωστίαν. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρήμασιν

8. διέφθειρον M.

45 2. [ἀνευ τῶν ἀ.] Haacke. — ἀπώλοντο Cobet for MSS. ἀπώλ-  
λυντο.

46 ἐπαγάγοιτο Pluygers for MSS. ὑπ-. — ἄλλην B only; rest  
om.

1 ἑώρων οὐ κατορθοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 2 ἀχθομένους τῇ μονῇ. νόσφ τε γὰρ ἐπιέζοντο  
 κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τῆς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ταύτης,  
 οὔσης ἐν ᾗ ἀσθενοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα, καὶ  
 τὸ χωρίον ἅμα ἐν ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐλῶδες  
 καὶ χαλεπὸν ἦν· τὰ τε ἄλλα [ὅτι] ἀνέλπιστα  
 3 αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο. τῷ οὖν Δημοσθένει οὐκ ἐδόκει

'Painful evi-  
 dences of in-  
 creasing disor-  
 ganisation only  
 made D. more  
 strenuous in  
 enforcing the  
 resolution which  
 he had taken  
 before the  
 attack on

4 Epipolae.—He  
 insisted on re-  
 turning home.'

ἔτι χρήναι μένειν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ καὶ  
 διανοηθεὶς ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς διεκιν-  
 δύνευσεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαλτο, ἐξιέναι  
 ἐψηφίζετο καὶ μὴ διατρίβειν, ἕως  
 15 ἔτι τὸ πέλαγος οἷόν τε περαιουῖσθαι,  
 καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ταῖς γοῦν  
 ἐπελθούσαις ναυσὶ κρατεῖν. καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει ὠφελιμώτερον ἔφη εἶναι πρὸς

τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν ἐπιτειχίζοντας τὸν πόλε-  
 20 μον ποιεῖσθαι ἢ Συρακοσίους, οὓς οὐκέτι ῥάδιον  
 εἶναι χειρώσασθαι· οὐδ' αὖ ἄλλως χρήματα  
 πολλὰ δαπανῶντας εἰκὸς εἶναι προσκαθῆσθαι.

48 καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης τοιαῦτα ἐγίνωσκεν· ὁ δὲ  
 Νικίας ἐνόμιζε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς πόνηρα σφῶν τὰ  
 πράγματα εἶναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ οὐκ ἐβούλετο αὐτὰ  
 ἀσθενῇ ἀποδεικνύναι, οὐδ' ἐμφανῶς  
 σφᾶς ψηφίζομένους μετὰ πολλῶν  
 5 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατ-  
 αγγέλτους γίγνεσθαι· λαθεῖν γὰρ ἄν, ὅποτε

'This pro-  
 position was  
 peremptorily  
 opposed by N.'

- 47 1. κατορθοῦντες GM; -as BCAF.  
 2. [ὅτι] om. A only; ὅτι ἀνελπιστότατα Reiske.  
 3. διακινδυνεύσαι AEFM.—ἐπελθούσι M.

- 48 1. πονηρὰ M, which means 'wicked.'—ἀποδεικνύναι M.—ἄν  
 om. M.



2 βούλονται, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλῶ ἥσσουν. τὸ  
 δέ τι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ  
 οἱ ἄλλοι ἡσθάνετο αὐτῶν, ἐλπίδος τι ἔτι παρεῖχε 10  
 πονηρότερα τῶν σφετέρων ἔσεσθαι, ἣν καρτερώσι  
 προσκαθήμενοι· χρημάτων γὰρ ἀπορία αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκτρυχώσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἥδη ταῖς  
 ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶ θαλασσοκρατούντων. καὶ  
 (ἦν γάρ τι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις βουλόμενον 15  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ πράγματα ἐνδοῦναι) ἐπεκηρυ-  
 3 κεύετο ὥς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ εἶα ἀπανίστασθαι. ἃ  
 ἐπιστάμενος τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἔχων  
 καὶ διασκοπῶν ἀνέειχε, τῷ δ' ἐμφανεῖ τότε λόγῳ  
 οὐκ ἔφη ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιάν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι 20  
 ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι σφῶν ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπο-  
 δέξονται ὥστε μὴ αὐτῶν ψηφισαμέ-  
 νων ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς αὐ-  
 τοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι τε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ  
 πράγματα ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρῶντας καὶ οὐκ 25  
 ἄλλων ἐπιτιμήσει ἀκούοντας) γνῶσεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις εὖ λέγων διαβάλλῃ, ἐκ τούτων  
 4 αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι. τῶν τε παρόντων στρατιω-

2. δέ τι] δ' ἔτι M, with BAEF.

3. περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν MSS., Kr., Hw., Bh., Hu.; περὶ σφῶν  
 [αὐτῶν] Bekker, Cl., Sta., Mül., Sitz.: σφῶν αὐτῶν must apply  
 either to τοὺς αὐτοὺς, or to Nicias and the troops. But taken  
 with τοὺς αὐτοὺς it is absurd, since the argument, which is clearly  
 'they will be severe on us,' thus becomes 'they will be severe  
 on themselves'; and if made to apply to the army, it implies  
 that another party is mentally contrasted with the army; which  
 is certainly not the case. But to remove αὐτῶν greatly weakens  
 the sentence. I think N. is made to say οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ ψηφιοῦν-  
 ται περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, meaning, 'We, no doubt, shall be the same  
 body; but then the voters will be different.'—ἀκούοντας BM;  
 rest ἀκούσαντας.—διαβάλλῃ Sta. for MSS. -οι.

τῶν πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλείους ἔφη, οἳ νῦν βοῶσιν  
 'Even the citi- 30  
 zens now serv-  
 ing would alter  
 their tone when  
 they were safe  
 in the public  
 assembly.'

ὡς ἐν δεινοῖς ὄντες, ἐκείσε ἀφικομέ-  
 νους τὰναντία βοήσεσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ  
 χρημάτων καταπροδόντες οἱ στρα-  
 τηγοὶ ἀπήλθον. οὐκ οὖν βούλεσθαι  
 αὐτός γε ἐπιστάμενος τὰς Ἀθηναίων φύσεις  
 ἐπ' αἰσχυρᾷ τε αἰτία καὶ ἀδίκως ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων 35  
 ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δεῖ,  
 5 κινδυνεύσας τοῦτο παθεῖν ἰδίᾳ. τὰ τε Συρα-

κοσίων ἔφη ὅμως ἔτι ἥσσω τῶν σφε-  
 τέρων εἶναι. καὶ χρήμασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς  
 ξενοφροφούντας. καὶ ἐν περιπολίῳις 40  
 ἅμα ἀναλίσκοντας, καὶ ναυτικὸν πολὺν

ἔτι ἐνιαυτὸν ἤδη βόσκοντας, τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ  
 δ' ἔτι ἀμνηχανήσιν. δισχιλία τε γὰρ τάλαντα  
 ἤδη ἀνηλωκέναι καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ προσοφείλειν, ἣν  
 τε καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἐκλίπωσι τῆς νῦν παρασκευῆς τῷ 45  
 μὴ διδόναι τροφήν, φθереῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ πράγ-  
 ματα, ἐπικουρικὰ, μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀνάγκης ὥσπερ  
 6 τὰ σφέτερα ὄντα. τρίβειν οὖν ἔφη χρῆναι  
 προσκαθήμενους, καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν, ὧν πολὺν  
 κρείσσους εἰσὶ, νικηθέντας ἀπιέναι.

49 Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα λέγων ἰσχυρίζετο,  
 αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀκριβῶς, καὶ  
 τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτόθι

4. τὰ ἐναντία M.

5. ὁμοίως for ὅμως M.—ἔτι before ἐνιαυτὸν (bracketed by Cl.) should perhaps be ἐπὶ; cp. ii. 25, 3; 86, 5.—τε after δισχιλία B only.—ἀναλωκέναι MSS.—ἦν τε οὖν M.

6. χρῆναι om. M.—ὧν B; the rest ὡς. The conjectures are οἷς Coraes, ἕως Sta., ᾧ Pp., ἐν ᾧ Gertz.

πολὺ τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνδίδοσθαι  
τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ἐπικηρυκευόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν 5  
ὥστε μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γοῦν ναυσίν,  
2 ἢ πρότερον, ἐθάρσει [~~κρατηθεῖς~~]. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθέ-  
νης περὶ μὲν τοῦ προσκαθῆσθαι οὐδ' ἔτι  
ὁπωσοῦν ἐνεδέχετο· εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ  
ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἄνευ Ἀθη-  
ναίων ψηφίσματος, ἀλλὰ τρίβειν αὐ-  
τοῦ, ἔφη χρήναι ἢ ἐς τὴν Θάψον 10  
ἀναστάντας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐς τὴν  
Κατάνην, ὅθεν τῷ τε πεζῷ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας  
ἐπιόντες θρέψονται πορθοῦντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων 15  
καὶ ἐκείνους βλάψουσι, ταῖς τε ναυσίν ἐν πελάγει  
καὶ οὐκ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
μᾶλλον ἐστὶ, τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσονται, ἀλλ' ἐν  
εὐρυχωρίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ τά τε τῆς ἐμπειρίας χρήσιμα  
σφῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ ἐπίπλους οὐκ 20  
ἐκ βραχέος καὶ περιγραπτοῦ ὀρμώμενοί τε καὶ

'Both D. and Eur. protested. —They insisted, at the very least, on quitting this position.—They urged an immediate transfer of their camp to Thapsus or Katana.'

9 1. που τὸ B; the rest om. που; πολὺ τὸ Linwood. The passage καὶ ὅτι ἦν . . . κρατηθεῖς is corrupt: [καὶ ὅτι ἦν . . . ἀπανίστασθαι] Bothe; [καὶ ὅτι ἦν . . . κρατηθεῖς] Hw.—τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίγνεσθαι MSS. "Solum γίγνεσθαι cum dat. idoneam sententiam non praebeet neque huc pertinent exempla a Class. adscripta iii. 23, 5; v. 55, 3; viii. 57, 1, ubi γίγνεσθαι contingere, evenire valet," Sta., who reads τοῖς Ἀ. <ὑποχέαιρα> γίγνεσθαι, comparing iii. 86, εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχέαιρα γενέσθαι. Naber reads <ἐπὶ> τοῖς Ἀ. γίγ. : but, as this passage is very similar to 48, 2, I have substituted ἐνδίδοσθαι for γίγνεσθαι.—γ' ἂν for γοῦν M.—ἢ πρότερον θαρσῆσει κρατηθεῖς M; θαρρῶν ἢ πρ. ἐθάρσησε κ. B; ἢ Sta. for MSS. ἢ; ἐθάρσει Gertz for θαρσῆσει of CAEFGM; those who read ἢ insert μᾶλλον before it.—[κρατηθεῖς] I bracket; κρατήσιν Badham, Rauchenstein; <καὶ> κρατηθεῖς Cl., Hu.; κρατυνθεῖς Bauer, Bothe.

2. αὐτοῦ Kr. for MSS. αὐτοῦς.—θρέψονται B only; rest τρέψονται.—τὰς τῶν πολεμίων M.

3 καταίροντες ἔξουσι. τό τε ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὶ  
 τρόπῳ οἱ ἔφη ἀρέσκειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι μένειν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα ἡδὴ ἐξανίστασθαι καὶ μὴ  
 μέλλειν. καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων αὐτῷ ταῦτα ξύνη- 25

4 'N. refused to γόρευεν. ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Νικίου  
 consent.—Thus ὅκνος τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεγένετο, καὶ  
 the armament ἅμα ὑπόνοια μὴ τι καὶ πλεόνειδώς  
 remained, appar- ὁ Νικίας ἰσχυρίζεται. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 ently quite in- Ἀθηναῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεμέλλησαν τε καὶ 30  
 active. κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον.

50 'Ο δὲ Γύλιππος καὶ ὁ Σικανὸς ἐν τούτῳ  
 παρήσαν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας, ὁ μὲν  
 Σικανὸς ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος  
 (ἐν Γέλα γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἡ τοῖς  
 Συρακοσίοις στάσις [ἐς] φιλία ἐξεπεπτώκει), ὁ 5  
 δὲ Γύλιππος ἄλλην τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἔχων  
 ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Πελο-  
 ποννήσου τοῦ ἥρος ἐν ταῖς ὀλκάσιν ὀπλίτας  
 ἀποσταλέντας, ἀφικομένους ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς  
 2 Σελινοῦντα. ἀπενεχθέντες γὰρ ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ 10  
 δόντων Κυρηναίων τριήρεις δύο καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ  
 ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ Εὐεσπερίταις  
 πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Λιβύων ξυμμαχήσαντες καὶ  
 νικήσαντες τοὺς Λίβυς, καὶ αὐτόθεν παραπλεύ-  
 σαντες ἐς Νέαν πόλιν, Καρχηδονιακὸν ἐμπόριον, 15

3. ἐξανίστασθαι, placed after μέλλειν in the MSS., was transferred by Haase.

4. ἐγένετο for ἐνεγένετο BM.

50 1. ἀμαρτῶν M.—φιλία Bauer for ἐς φίλια (AEFM) or ἐς φιλία (B) or ἐς φιλίαν (G).—πολλὴν ἄλλην M; ἔχων πολλὴν B.—ἀποσταλέντας ὁπ. M.

2. ἀπενεχθέντων all but B.—εὐεσπερίταις all but B.



ὅθεν περ Σικελία ἐλάχιστον δύο ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκ-  
 τὸς πλοῦν ἀπέχει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περαιωθέντες,  
 3 ἀφίκοντο ἐς Σελινούντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι  
 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἐλθόντων παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐπι-  
 θησόμενοι κατ' ἀμφοτέρα αὐθις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, 20  
 καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶ· οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων στρατηγοὶ ὁρῶντες στρατιάν  
 τε ἄλλην προσγεγενημένην αὐτοῖς,  
 καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἅμα οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλ-  
 τιον χωροῦντα ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν  
 τοῖς πᾶσι χαλεπώτερον ἴσχοντα,  
 μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων πιεζόμενα, μετεμέλονται τε πρό-  
 τερον οὐκ ἀναστάντες, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ  
 Νικίας ἔτι ὁμοίως ἐνηντιοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἢ μὴ φανερώς 30  
 γε ἀξιῶν [μὴ] ψηφίζεσθαι, προεῖπον ὡς ἐδύναντο  
 ἀδηλότατα ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πᾶσι,  
 4 καὶ παρὰσκευάσασθαι ὅταν τις σημήνῃ. καὶ  
 μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀποπλεῖν,  
 \*ἢ σελήνῃ ἐκλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ 35  
 πανσέληνος οὔσα. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 οἳ τε πλείους ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευον τοὺς  
 στρατηγοὺς ἐνθύμιον ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ ὁ Νικίας  
 (ἦν γάρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θεασμῶ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ  
 προσκείμενος) οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔτι ἔφη, 40

'D. now again  
 pressed for im-  
 mediate de-  
 parture.—N. did  
 not venture to  
 persist.—He  
 however in-  
 sisted—that the  
 order should be  
 circulated as  
 privately as  
 possible to be  
 ready at a given  
 signal.'

'The gods  
 themselves in-  
 terfered to for-  
 bid departure.'

2. ὅθεν πρὸς Σικελίαν MSS., cor. Bh.—δυοῖν B.—πλοῦς all but B.

3. μᾶλλον for μάλιστα M.—ἔτι om. M.—ἡναντιοῦτο MSS.—ἀλλ' ἢ Steph., for MSS. ἄλλο εἰ. ἀλλ' ἢ Hu.—[μὴ] om. Steph.—ἡδύναντο M.—παρεσκευάσθαι for παρασκευάσασθαι Abresch. See note.

4. θεασμῶ for θειασμῶ Cobet.

πρίν, ὥς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας  
μεῖναι, ὅπως ἂν πρότερον κινηθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
Ἀθηναίοις μελλήσασι διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μονὴ ἐγεγέννητο.

51 Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι  
πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν μὴ  
ἀνιέναι τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥς καὶ  
αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότων ἤδη μηκέτι  
κρεισσόνων εἶναι σφῶν μήτε ταῖς 5  
ναυσὶ μήτε τῷ πᾶσι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν  
ἐκπλουν ἐπιβουλευσαι), καὶ ἅμα οὐ  
βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄλλοσέ ποι τῆς  
Σικελίας καθεζομένους χαλεπωτέρους  
εἶναι προσπολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ὥς 10  
τάχιστα καὶ ἐν ᾧ σφίσι ξυμφέρει

2 ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς ναυμαχεῖν. τὰς οὖν ναῦς  
ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀνεπειρῶντο ἡμέρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς  
ἐδόκουν ἱκαναὶ εἶναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν, τῇ  
μὲν προτέρᾳ πρὸς τὰ τεῖχῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 15  
προσέβαλλον, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντος μέρους τινὸς οὐ  
πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων κατὰ  
τινας πύλας ἀπολαμβάνουσιν· οὔσης δὲ  
στενῆς τῆς ἐσόδου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἵππους τε ἐβ- 20  
δομήκοντα ἀπολλύουσι καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οὐ πολ-

52 λούς. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ  
στρατιὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ταῖς

51 1. αὐτοὶ MSS. ; αὐτίκα Sitz. ; ὁ Γύλιππος Kr.—ἐπηρμένοι B ;  
ἐγγεγέρμενοι Bgr. CAEFM.—ταῖς before ναυσὶ om. CAEFM ; τῷ  
before πᾶσι om. C.

2. ἀνεπαύοντο all but B.—αὐταῖς M.—προτεραίᾳ B.—ἐφόδου  
M.—ἀπολλύουσι MSS. ; cor. Bk.

τε ναυσὶν ἐκπλέουσιν οὔσαις ἔξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα,  
 καὶ τῷ πεζῷ ἅμα πρὸς τὰ τεῖχῃ ἐχώρουν. οἱ δ'  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγον ναυσὶν ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα 5  
 2 καὶ προσμείξαντες ἐναυμάχουν. καὶ τὸν Εὐρυ-  
 μέδοντα ἔχοντα τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 καὶ βουλόμενον περικλήσασθαι τὰς ναῦς τῶν  
 ἐναντίων καὶ ἐπεξάγοντα τῷ πλῶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν  
 μάλλον, νικήσαντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 10  
 μαχοι τὸ μέσον πρῶτον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀπολαμ-  
 βάνουσι καὶ κείνον ἐν τῷ κοίλῳ [καὶ μυχῶ] τοῦ  
 λιμένος, καὶ αὐτόν τε διαφθείρουσι καὶ τὰς μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ ναῦς ἐπισπομένας· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 πάσας ἤδη ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατεδίωκόν τε 15  
 3 καὶ ἐξεώθουν ἐς τὴν γῆν. ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος ὁρῶν  
 τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων νικωμένας  
 καὶ ἔξω τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τοῦ  
 ἐαυτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφερομένας,  
 βουλόμενος διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐκβαί-  
 νοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ῥᾶον τοὺς Συρα-  
 κοσίους ἀφέλκειν τῆς γῆς φιλίας  
 οὔσης, παρεβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν χηλὴν μέρος τι ἔχων  
 2 τῆς στρατιᾶς. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Τυρ-  
 σηνοί (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τοῖς  
 Ἀθηναίοις ταύτῃ) ὁρῶντες ἀτάκτως  
 προσφερομένους, ἐπεκβροηθήσαντες  
 καὶ προσπεσόντες (τοῖς πρώτοις) τρέ-

'Most of the  
 defeated ships  
 were forced  
 ashore. G.  
 marched down  
 his land-force  
 to the water's  
 edge, to prevent  
 the retreat of  
 the crews.'

'The Tyrrhenian  
 troops sallied  
 out against  
 them, beat the  
 foremost, and  
 drove them away  
 from the shore  
 into the marsh.'

- 2 1. προσμίξαντες MSS.  
 2. περικλείσασθαι BAGM.—ἐξάγοντα all but B.—[καὶ μυχῶ]  
 Bothe; C om. καὶ.—ναῦς ἤδη all but B.  
 3 1. ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων. M.—παραβοήθη M.  
 2. ταύτῃ B only; the rest om.

1 πουςι καὶ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν Λυσι-  
 3 μέλειαν καλουμένην. ὕστερον δὲ πλείονος ἤδη 15  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος παρόντος τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ  
 ξυμμάχων, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιβοηθήσαντες καὶ  
 δείσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς μάχην τε κατέ-  
 στησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ νικήσαντες ἐπεδίωξαν  
 καὶ ὀπλίτας τε οὐ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς 20  
 ναῦς τὰς μὲν πολλὰς διέσωσάν τε καὶ ξυνήγαγον  
 κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, δυοῖν δὲ δεούσας εἴκοσιν  
 οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔλαβον αὐτῶν,  
 4 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τὰς λοιπὰς ἐμπρῆσαι βουλόμενοι ὀλκάδα πα- 25  
 λαιὰν κληματίδων καὶ δαδὸς γεμίσαντες (ἦν γὰρ  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ ἄνεμος οὖριος) ἀφείσαν  
 [τὴν ναῦν] πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 δείσαντες περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντεμνηχανήσαντό τε  
 σβεστήρια κωλύματα καὶ παύσαντες τὴν φλόγα 30  
 καὶ τὸ μὴ προσελθεῖν ἐγγὺς τὴν ὀλκάδα, τοῦ  
 54 κινδύνου ἀπηλλάγησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Συρα-  
 κόσιοι μὲν τῆς τε ναυμαχίας τροπαῖον ἔστησαν  
 καὶ τῆς ἄνω τῆς πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀπολήψεως τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔλαβον, Ἀθηναῖοι  
 δὲ ἥς τε οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ τροπῆς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν 5  
 πεζῶν ἐς τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἥς αὐτοὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 στρατοπέδῳ.

55 Γεγεννημένης δὲ τῆς νίκης τοῖς Συρακοσίοις

λαμπρὰς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ (πρό-  
 60 τερον μὲν γὰρ ἐφοβοῦντο τὰς μετὰ

3. δυοῖν δὲ οὔσας M.—εἴκοσι ᾧς CAEFM.

4. [τὴν ναῦν] Bothe, then Badham, then Hw.—ἀντεμνηχανή-  
 65 σαντό τε κ.τ.λ., altered by many edd. Cf. Pollux i. 168.



τοῦ Δημοσθένους ναῦς ἐπελθούσας), οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας  
 ἦσαν καὶ ὁ παράλογος αὐτοῖς μέγας ἦν, πολὺν δὲ μείζων ἔτι τῆς στρατείας  
 2 ὁ μετάμελος. πόλεσι γὰρ ταύταις μόναις ἤδη ὁμοιοτρόποις ἐπελθόντες,  
 δημοκρατουμέναις τε, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ναῦς 10  
 καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, οὐ δυνάμενοι  
 ἐπενεγκεῖν οὔτε ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς τὸ  
 διάφορον αὐτοῖς, ᾧ προσήγοντο ἄν, οὔτ' ἐκ  
 παρασκευῆς πολλῷ κρείσσονος, σφαλλόμενοι δὲ  
 τὰ πλείω, τά τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ἠπόρουσαν καὶ ἐπειδὴ 15  
 γε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκρατήθησαν, ὃ οὐκ ἂν ᾤοντο,  
 6 πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτι. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸν τε  
 λιμένα εὐθὺς <sup>αἰ-7</sup> παρέπλεον ἀδεῶς καὶ  
 τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διανοοῦντο κλήσειν,  
 ὅπως μηκέτι μηδ' εἰ βούλοιντο λάθοι-  
 εν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπλεύσαν-  
 2 τες. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῖ σωθῆναι  
 μόνον ἔτι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνους κωλύσουσι,  
 νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν παρ-  
 ὄντων πολὺ σφῶν καθυπέρτερα τὰ  
 πράγματα εἶναι, καί, εἰ δύναιντο  
 κρατῆσαι Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ξυμ-  
 μάχων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καλὸν  
 σφίσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὸ ἀγώνισμα φανεῖσθαι.

fleet would have  
 been destroyed.  
 —Sickness of  
 the whole enter- 5  
 prise, and re-  
 pentance for  
 having under-  
 taken it now  
 became upper-  
 most.'

'The S. deter-  
 mined to close  
 up and guard  
 the mouth of  
 the harbour.—  
 Their pride  
 swelled when 5  
 they reflected on  
 the Pan-Hellenic  
 importance  
 which the siege  
 had now ac-  
 quired, and  
 when they  
 counted up the  
 number and  
 variety of Greek 10  
 warriors now  
 fighting on one  
 side or the  
 other.'

2. κρείσσους CΛΕFGM ; κρείσσους ὄντες B ; κρείσσονος Schol.

1. κλείσειν BAEM.

2. κωλύσουσι C only ; the rest κωλύσωσι.

- τούς τε γὰρ ἄλλους Ἑλληνας εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν 15  
 ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φόβου ἀπολύεσθαι (οὐ  
 γὰρ ἔτι δυνατὴν ἔσεσθαι τὴν ὑπόλοιπον Ἀθη-  
 ναίων δύναμιν τὸν ὕστερον ἐπενεχθησόμενον  
 πόλεμον ἐνεγκεῖν), καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαντες αὐτῶν αἰ-  
 τιοι εἶναι ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ 20  
 3 τῶν ἔπειτα πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι. καὶ ἦν δὲ  
 ἄξιος ὁ ἀγὼν κατὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐχὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων μόνων περιεγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 πολλῶν ξυμμάχων, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ αὖ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ μετὰ τῶν ξυμβοηθησάντων σφίσιν, ἡγεμόνες 25  
 τε γενόμενοι μετὰ Κορινθίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 καὶ τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐμπάρασχόντες προ-  
 κινδυνεύσαι τε καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μέγα [μέρος]  
 4 προκόψαντες. ἔθνη γὰρ πλείστα δὴ ἐπὶ μίαν  
 πόλιν ταύτην ξυνῆλθε, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ ξύμπαν- 30  
 τος ὄχλου τοῦ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ <πολεμοῦντος>  
 πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων τε πόλιν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων.  
 57 Τοσοῖδε γὰρ ἑκάτεροι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τε καὶ  
 περὶ Σικελίας, τοῖς μὲν ξυγκτησόμε-  
 νοι τὴν χώραν ἐλθόντες, τοῖς δὲ  
 ξυνδιασώσοντες, ἐπὶ Συρακούσαις  
 ἐπολέμησαν, οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλ- 5

'Greeks conti-  
 nental and in-  
 sular—Ionic,  
 Doric, and  
 Aeolic—auto-  
 nomous and de-  
 pendent—volun-

2. <ἄν> ἐλευθεροῦσθαι Hw.—ἐπενεγκεῖν M.

3. μόνων Sta. for MSS. μόνον.—ἀλλὰ καὶ . . μόνοι om. M. ;  
 μόνοι Madvig for MSS. μόνον.—[μέρος] Kr.

4. ὄχλου Kr. for MSS. λόγον. See Appendix II. Cf. c. 75,  
 5.—πολέμῳ <πολεμοῦντος> is my conjecture. Sta. shows (1)  
 that ξυνελθόντος cannot be supplied from ξυνῆλθε, (2) that, if it  
 could, it would not give sense. He thinks ξυστάντος, or some-  
 thing similar, is lost after τοῦ.

57 1. ξυνδιασώσαντες M.—Συρακούσαις Bauer for MSS. -as.

λον οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυγγένειαν μετ' ἀλλή-  
λων στάντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι τῆς  
ξυντυχίας ἢ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ  
ἀνάγκη ἔσχον.

teers and mer-  
cenaries—from  
Miletus and  
Chios in the east  
to Selinus in the  
west—were here  
to be found;—  
also the barbaric  
Sikels, Ege-  
staeans, Tyr-  
rhenians, and  
Iapygians.'

2 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ  
Δωριέας Σύρακοσίους ἐκόντες ἦλθον,  
καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομί-  
μοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Δήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοι καὶ  
Αἰγινῆται, οἱ τότε Αἶγιναν εἶχον, καὶ ἔτι  
Ἑστιαίης οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ [Ἑστίαϊαν οἰκοῦντες], 15  
3 ἄποικοι ὄντες, ξυνεστράτευσαν. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων  
οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ συμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι,  
4 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ξυνεστράτεον. καὶ  
τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριῆς  
καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρύστιοι ἀπ' Εὐ- 20  
βοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἀνδριοι καὶ  
Τήνιοι, ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ  
Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες φόρου,  
ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες, αὐτόνομοι ξυνείποντο· καὶ  
τὸ πλεῖστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' 25  
Ἀθηναίων πλὴν Καρυστίων (οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ  
Δρύοπες), ὑπήκοοι δ' ὄντες καὶ ἀνάγκη ὁμως

1. ὡς ἑκάστοις . . ἔσχεν CAEFM ; ἕκαστοι . . ἔσχεν B ; ἔσχον  
Steph. ; ἕκαστος . . ἔσχεν Kr. ; ἕκαστοι . . ἔσχον Bh.—ἀνάγκη  
CAEG ; ἀνάγκης B.

2. οἱ for οἱ M.—[Ἑ. οἰκοῦντες] Kr.

4. [καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν] Sta., because the Chians are included  
and are said below to be οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς φόρου. But the clause  
below is a correction. Cf. ii. 70, 3 ξυνέβησαν ἐξελεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ  
παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ  
ξὺν δυοῖν.—Στυρεῖς M.—Κεῖοι Ἀνδριοι M, καὶ omitted.—Τήνιοι  
B only ; Τήιοι AEFGM ; Τήιοι C.—ξυνείποντο all the good  
MSS.

5 Ἰωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριέας ἠκολούθουν. πρὸς δ'  
 αὐτοῖς Λιολῆς, Μηθυμναῖοι μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ  
 φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι, Τενέδιοι δὲ καὶ Λῆνιοι ὑποτελεῖς. 30  
 οὗτοι δὲ Λιολῆς Λιολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς  
 [μετὰ Συρακοσίων] κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο,  
 Πλαταιῆς δὲ καὶ ἄντικρυς Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς  
 6 μόνοι εἰκότως κατ' ἔχθος. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Κυθή-  
 ριοι Δωριῆς ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων 35  
 ἄποικοι, Κυθήριοι, ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἅμα  
 Γυλίππῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ὅπλα ἔφερον, Ῥόδιοι  
 δέ, Ἀργεῖοι γένος, Συρακοσίους μὲν Δωριεῦσι,  
 Γελώοις δὲ καὶ ἀποίκις ἑαυτῶν οὔσι, μετὰ  
 Συρακοσίων στρατευομένοις, ἠναγκάζοντο πο- 40  
 7 λεμεῖν. τῶν τε περὶ Πελοπόννησον νησιωτῶν  
 Κεφαλλῆνες μὲν καὶ Ζακύνθιοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι,  
 ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ξυνείποντο·  
 Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Δωριῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορίν- 45  
 θιοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ Κορινθίους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους,  
 τῶν μὲν ἄποικοι ὄντες, τῶν δὲ ξυγγενεῖς, ἀνάγκη  
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, βουλήσει δὲ κατὰ ἔχθος  
 8 τὸ Κορινθίων οὐχ ἦσσαν εἶποντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσή-  
 νιοι νῦν καλούμενοι ἐκ Ναυπάκτου καὶ ἐκ Πύλου 50  
 τότε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐχομένης ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
 παρελήφθησαν. καὶ ἔτι Μεγαρέων φυγάδες οὐ

4. Ἰωνές τε all but B.

5. [μετὰ Σ.] I bracket; Βοιωτοῖς <τοῖς> μετὰ Σ. Lindau.—  
 καὶ ἀντικρυς Bh. for MSS. καταντικρὺ which is always local in  
 Attic.

6. ἄποικοι [Κυθήριοι] Bothe; but cf. c. 86, 3.

8. ἐκ Ναυπάκτου B only; rest ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ; hence ἐν Ν. ἐκ  
 Ν. Cl.; <οἱ> ἐκ Ναυπάκτου [καὶ] Kr.



πολλοὶ Μεγαρεῦσι Σελινουντίοις οὔσι κατὰ ξυμ-  
9 φορὰν ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκούσιος μᾶλ-  
λον ἢ στρατεία ἐγίγνετο ἤδη. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ 55  
οὐ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Λακεδαι-  
μονίων τε ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς παραντίκα ἑκαστοι  
ιδίας ὠφελίας Δωριῆς ἐπὶ Δωριέας μετὰ Ἀθη-  
ναίων Ἰώνων ἠκολούθουν, Μαντινῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι  
Ἀρκάδων μισθοφόροι, ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ πολεμίους 60  
σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους εἰωθότες ἰέναι, καὶ τότε  
τοὺς μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐλθόντας Ἀρκάδας οὐδὲν  
ἦσσαν διὰ κέρδος ἡγούμενοι πολεμίους, Κρήτες  
δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὔτοι πεισθέντες·  
ξυνέβη δὲ τοῖς Κρησὶ τὴν Γέλαν Ῥοδίοις ξυγ- 65  
κτίσαντας μὴ ξὺν τοῖς ἀποίκοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς  
10 ἀποίκους ἐκόντας μετὰ μισθοῦ ἐλθεῖν. καὶ  
Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἅμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλεόν  
Δημοσθένους φιλία καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοία ξύμμα-  
11 χοι ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν. καὶ οἶδε μὲν τῷ Ἰονίῳ 70  
κόλπῳ ὀριζόμενοι· Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ Θούριοι καὶ  
Μεταπόντιοι, ἐν τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις τότε στα-  
σιωτικῶν καιρῶν κατειλημμένοι, ξυνεστράτευον,  
καὶ Σικελιωτῶν Νάξιοι καὶ Καταναῖοι, βαρ-  
βάρων δὲ Ἐγεσταῖοί τε, οἵπερ ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ 75  
Σικελῶν τὸ πλεόν, καὶ τῶν ἔξω Σικελίας Τυρση-  
νῶν τέ τινες κατὰ διαφορὰν Συρακοσίων καὶ

9. γὰρ om. all but B.—οἶν for οὐ M.—ὠφελίας om. all but B.—ἄκοντας for ἐκόντας all but B.

11. Ἰωνίων M.—στρατιωτικῶν AEFM.—κατειλημμένοι Reiske for MSS. -μένων.—Σικελιωτῶν om. M.—τε after Ἐγεσταῖοι om. all but B.

Ἰάπυγες μισθοφόροι. τοσάδε μὲν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἔθνη ἐστράτευον.

- 58 Συρακοσίοις δὲ ἀντεβοήθησαν Καμαριναῖοι μὲν ὄμοροι ὄντες καὶ Γελῶι οἰκοῦντες μετ' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα Ἀκραγαντίνων ἡσυχάζόντων ἐν τῷ  
 2 ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἰδρυμένοι Σελινούντιοι. καὶ οἶδε μὲν τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Λιβύην μέρος τετραμμένον νερόμενοι, Ἱμεραῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Τυρσηνικὸν πόντον μορίου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μόνοι Ἑλληνες οἰκοῦσιν· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνοι ἐβοήθησαν.  
 3 καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ μὲν ἔθνη τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τοσάδε, Δωριῆς τε καὶ [οἱ] αὐτόνομοι πάντες, ξυνεμάχουν, βαρβάρων δὲ Σικελοὶ μόνοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀφέστασαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τῶν δ' ἔξω Σικελίας Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἡγεμόνα Σπαρτιάτην παρεχόμενοι, νεοδαμῶδεις δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εὐλωτας [δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι], Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ μόνοι παραγενόμενοι καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, ἐκ δὲ Ἀρκαδίας μισθοφόροι ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποσταλέντες, καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι ἀναγκαστοὶ στρατεύοντες, καὶ τῶν  
 4 ἔξω Πελοποννήσου Βοιωτοί. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας τούτους οἱ Σικελιῶται αὐτοὶ πλῆθος πλέον κατὰ πάντα παρέσχοντο, ἅτε μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦντες· καὶ γὰρ ὀπλῖται πολλοὶ καὶ

58 2. μεραῖοι for Ἱμεραῖοι M.

3. δωριεῖς M.—[οἱ] Bk.—[δύναται . . εἶναι] Portus. The Schol. did not find these words, for he notes νεοδαμῶδης ὁ ἐλεύθερος παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. For ἤδη 'lately' in Scholia cf. viii. 48, 5 σαφῶς ἔφη εἶδέναι ὅτι οὔτε αἱ ἤδη ἀφεστηκυῖαι προσχωρήσουσιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, οὔτε αἱ ὑπήκοοι βεβαιότεραι ἔσονται.

νῆες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἄφθονος ξυν- 25  
ελέγη. καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας αὐθις ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς  
ἄλλους Συρακόσιοι αὐτοὶ πλείω ἐπορίσαντο διὰ  
μέγεθός τε πόλεως καὶ ὅτι ἐν μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ  
ἦσαν.

19 Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐκατέρων ἐπικουρίαι τοσαῖδε ξυνε-  
λέγησαν, καὶ τότε ἤδη πᾶσαι ἀμφοτέροις παρήσαν  
καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν οὐδετέροις ἐπῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δ' οὖν Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι εἰκότως  
ἐνόμισαν καλὸν ἀγώνισμα σφίσιν 'The S. might 5  
εἶναι ἐπὶ τῇ γεγεννημένῃ νίκη τῆς well feel a con-  
ναυμαχίας ἐλεῖν τε τὸ στρατόπεδον sciousness of the  
ἅπαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοσοῦτον ὄν, great blow which  
they were about  
to strike.'

καὶ μηδὲ καθ' ἕτερα αὐτούς, μήτε διὰ θαλάσσης  
3 μήτε τῷ πεζῷ, διαφυγεῖν. ἔκληγον οὖν τὸν τε 10  
λιμένα εὐθὺς τὸν μέγαν, ἔχοντα τὸ στόμα ὀκτὼ  
σταδίων μάλιστα, τριήρεσι πλαγίαις καὶ πλοίοις  
καὶ ἀκάτοις, ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ὀρμίζοντες, καὶ τᾶλλα,  
ἣν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρε-  
σκευάζοντο, καὶ ὀλίγον οὐδὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἐπενόουν. 15

0 τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε ἀπόκλησιν ὀρώσι καὶ  
τὴν ἄλλην διάνοιαν αὐτῶν αἰσθομένοις βουλευτέα  
2 ἐδόκει. καὶ ξυνελθόντες οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ  
ταξίαρχοι πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν τῶν τε  
ἄλλων καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὔτε αὐτίκα ἔτι εἶχον 5

4. συνελέγη all but B.—συρακο(υ)σίους all but B.—τε after  
μέγεθος B only, which also has γὰρ after ὅτι.—καὶ . . ἦσαν om.  
C.

9 2. τε οὖν MSS., cor. Kr.—καὶ οἱ ξύμ. B only; rest om., and  
so Hu.—ἀγώνισμα B only; rest ἀγῶνα.—καθ' ἑκάτερα AEFGM.

3. ἐκλειον BAGM.

10 1. ἀπόκλεισιν BAEGM.

(προπέμψαντες γὰρ ἐς Κατάνην ὡς ἐκπλευσόμε-  
νοι ἀπεῖπον μὴ ἐπάγειν) οὔτε τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον  
ἔξειν, εἰ μὴ ναυκρατήσουσιν, ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰ  
μὲν τείχη τὰ ἄνω ἐκλιπεῖν, πρὸς δὲ αὐταῖς ταῖς

'N. and his  
colleagues now  
evacuated the  
upper portion  
of their lines ;  
confining them-  
selves to a  
limited space  
close to the  
shore. They  
then made ready  
every trireme  
which could be  
rendered ever so  
imperfectly sea-  
worthy, con-  
straining every  
fit man to serve,  
without distinc-  
tion of age, rank,  
or country.'

ναυσὶν ἀπολαβόντες διατειχίσματι 10  
ὅσον οἶόν τε ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τε  
σκεύεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἱκανὸν  
γενέσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν φρουρεῖν, ἀπὸ  
δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πεζοῦ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας,  
ὅσαι ἦσαν καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἀπλοώ- 15  
τεραι, πάντα τινὰ ἐσβιβάζοντες  
πληρῶσαι, καὶ διανυμαχήσαντες,  
ἣν μὲν νικῶσιν, ἐς Κατάνην κομί-  
ζεσθαι, ἣν δὲ μή, ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς  
ναῦς πεζῇ ξυνταξάμενοι ἀποχωρεῖν 20

ἣ ἂν τάχιστα μέλλωσί τινος χωρίου ἢ βαρβαρι-  
3 κοῦ ἢ Ἑλληνικοῦ φιλίου ἀντιλήψεσθαι. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ ἐποίησαν· ἔκ  
τε γὰρ τῶν ἄνω τειχῶν ὑποκατέβησαν καὶ τὰς  
ναῦς ἐπλήρωσαν πάσας, ἀναγκάσαντες ἐσβαίνειν 25  
ὅστις καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐδόκει ἡλικίας μετέχων ἐπι-  
4 τήδειος εἶναι. καὶ ξυνεπληρώθησαν νῆες αἱ  
πᾶσαι δέκα μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν· τοξότας τε ἐπ'  
αὐτὰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀκοντιστάς τῶν τε Ἀκαρ-  
νάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐσεβίβαζον καὶ 30  
τᾶλλα ὡς οἶόν τ' ἦν ἐξ ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ τοιαύτης

2. ἀσθενέσιν] ἀσθενοῦσιν B.—ἀπάσας] πάσας all but B.—ἐσβι-  
ζόντες for ἐσβιβάζοντες AEFM.

3. [ἡλικίας μετέχων] Hw.

4. ἐξ ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ τοιαύτης δ.] Cf. vi. 37, 2 ἐκ σκηνηδίων καὶ  
ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς, where however Hw. proposes καὶ <ἀπ' >



5 διανοίας ἐπορίσαντο. ὁ δὲ Νικίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ  
πολλὰ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώ-  
τας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πολὺ ταῖς  
ναυσὶ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας, καὶ  
διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὥς  
τάχιστα βουλομένους διακινδυνεύειν, ζυγκαλέσας  
ἅπαντας παρέκελεύσατό τε πρῶτον καὶ ἔλεξε  
τοιαύδε.

‘N. saw but too  
plainly that the  
confidence habi-  
tual to A. on  
shipboard was  
extinct.’

35

61 “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ζυμμάχων, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὁ μέλ-  
λων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἔσται  
περί τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἐκά-  
στοις οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἦν  
γὰρ κρατήσωμεν νῦν ταῖς ναυσίν,  
ἔστι τῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν που οἰκείαν  
2 πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν. ἀθυμεῖν δὲ οὐ χρή  
οὐδὲ πάσχειν ὅπερ οἱ ἀπειρότατοι  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τοῖς πρώτοις

‘He did his best  
—by exhorta-  
tions unusually  
emphatic.’

I. προοίμιον  
(c. 61). The  
coming  
battle is of  
immense im-  
portance.  
πρόθεσις  
(§§ 2, 3) You  
must not be  
down-  
hearted.

5

α. You have  
experience

10

ἀν. π. Here, too, Thuc. perhaps wrote ἐξ ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ πο-  
τοιαύτης δ. Cf. v. 11, 2 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ παρατάξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τοιαύτης  
ζυντυχίας τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι.

5. καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας all but B.

61 1. [ἐκάστοις οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τοῖς π.] Cl., Sta., Sitz.; ἐκάστοις  
[οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τοῖς π.] Hw., Hu. The words are considered  
absurd, because the Syr. were no longer in doubt about their  
safety; whereas the A. had lost all hope of success and wanted  
only to return home. But Th. means: “Before, the enemy  
only fought περί τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος; now we too are fight-  
ing for our country,” i.e. to secure our return. Müller-Stru-  
bing, who reads ἐκάστοις <ἡμῶν>, points out that there is a  
different nuance in πατρίς as used of the Syr. and A. As a  
word is required which will emphasize the contrast between the  
circumstances of the present and those of the past, it may be  
that ἤδη is lost after ἥσσον; but perhaps ὁ μέλλων is intended  
to hint at this contrast.

of the vic-  
issitudes  
of war.  
b. You have  
numbers.

3

ἀγῶσι σφαλέντες ἔπειτα διὰ παντὸς  
τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς  
ξυμφοραῖς ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅσοι τε  
Ἀθηναίων πάρεστε, πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμ-  
πειροι ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ξυστρα- 1  
τεύόμενοι αἰεὶ, μνήσθητε τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις  
παραλόγων, καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν  
ἐλπίσαντες στήναι καὶ ὡς ἀναμαχοῦμενοι ἀξίως  
τοῦδε τοῦ πλήθους, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
ἐφορᾶτε, παρασκευάζεσθε.

20

62

Ἄ δὲ ἀρωγὰ ἐνείδομεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λιμένος  
στενότητι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ὄχλον  
τῶν νεῶν ἔσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων  
παρασκευῇν, οἷς πρότερον ἐβλαπτό-  
μεθα, πάντα καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν ἐκ τῶν  
παρόντων μετὰ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἐσ-  
κεμμένα ἡτοίμασται. καὶ γὰρ τοξ-  
όται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ἐπι- 1

2

βήσονται καὶ ὄχλος ᾧ ναυμαχίαν μὲν ποιοῦμενοι 1  
ἐν πελάγει οὐκ ἂν ἐχρώμεθα διὰ τὸ βλάπτειν ἂν  
τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν νεῶν, ἐν δὲ  
τῇ ἐνθάδε ἡναγκασμένη ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζομαχίᾳ  
πρόσφορα ἔσται. ἡϋρήται δ' ἡμῖν ὅσα χρὴ  
ἀντιναυπηγεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπωτίδων 1  
αὐτοῖς παχύτητας, ᾧπερ δὴ μάλιστα ἐβλαπτό-  
μεθα, χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί, αἱ στήσουσι  
τὴν πάλιν ἀνάκρουσιν τῆς προσπεσούσης νεώς,

62

1. πάντα καὶ ὑμῖν BAEFM.

3. μὴ for χρὴ all but B.—δὴ after ᾧπερ B only; rest om.

τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ἐπιβάται ὑπουργῶσιν. ἐς  
 ἵτο γὰρ δὴ ἡναγκάσμεθα ὥστε πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ 20  
 ν νεῶν, καὶ τὸ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἀνακρούεσθαι μήτ'  
 εἰνους εἶναι ὡφέλιμον φαίνεται, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 ς γῆς πλὴν ὅσον ἂν ὁ πεζὸς ἡμῶν ἐπέχη πολε-  
 ας οὔσης. ὦν χρὴ μεμνημένους διαμάχεσθαι  
 οὐν ἂν δύννησθε, καὶ μὴ ἐξωθεῖσθαι  
 αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ ξυμπεσούσης νηὶ νεῶς  
 ἡ πρότερον ἀξιούν ἀπολύεσθαι ἢ  
 οὗς ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμιου καταστρώ-  
 ατος ὀπλίτας ἀπαράξητε. καὶ ταῦ-  
 ι τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν  
 αὐτῶν παρακελεύομαι, ὅσῳ τῶν  
 νωθεν μᾶλλον τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο.  
 πάρχει δ' ἡμῖν ἔτι νῦν γε τὰ πλείω τῷ πεζῷ 10  
 τικρατεῖν. τοῖς δὲ ναύταις παραινῶ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 ὑτῷ τῷδε καὶ δέομαι μὴ ἐκπεπληχθαί τι ταῖς  
 υμφοραῖς ἄγαν, τήν τε παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 αταστρωμάτων βελτίω νῦν ἔχοντας καὶ τὰς  
 αὐς πλείους, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐνθυμείσθαι 15  
 ἰς ἀξία ἐστὶ διασώσασθαι, οἷ τέως Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ομιζόμενοι, καὶ μὴ ὄντες, ἡμῶν τῆς τε φωνῆς  
 ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαι-  
 νάξεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς  
 ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἔλασσαν κατὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐς τε 20  
 τὸ φοβερόν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι

B. Advice how to  
 act under the  
 novel circum-  
 stances (c. 63-  
 64, 1).  
 a. to the hop-  
 lites (§ 2), 5  
 b. to the  
 sailors  
 (§§ 3, 4),  
 c. to the A-  
 thenians  
 specially  
 (64, 1).

4. φαίνεται BM.—ἐπέχει EFM.

1. ἀξιούν B only; rest ἀξιον.—ἦν for ἡ CAFM.

2. ἡμῖν] MSS. ὑμῶν; cor. Bk.

3. βελτίω M.—ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν all the best MSS.

- 4 πολὺ πλείον μετείχετε. ὥστε κοινωνοὶ μόνοι  
 ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες δικαίως [ἂν]  
 αὐτὴν νῦν μὴ καταπροδίδετε, καταφρονήσαντες  
 δὲ Κορινθίων τε, οὓς πολλάκις νενικήκατε, καὶ 2  
 Σικελιωτῶν, ὧν οὐδ' ἀντιστῆναι οὐδεὶς ἕως  
 ἡκμαζε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡμῖν ἡξίωσεν, ἀμύνασθε  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ δείξατε ὅτι καὶ μετ' ἀσθενείας καὶ  
 ξυμφορῶν ἢ ὑμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστὶν  
 64 ἐτέρας εὐτυχούσης ῥώμης. τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους  
 ὑμῶν πάλιν αὖ καὶ τάδε ὑπομιμνήσκω, ὅτι οὔτε  
 ναῦς ἐν τοῖς νεωσοίοις ἄλλας ὁμοίας ταῖσδε  
 οὔτε ὀπλιτῶν ἡλικίαν ὑπελίπετε, εἴ τε ξυμβήσε-  
 ταί τι ἄλλο ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν ὑμῖν, τοὺς τε ἐνθάδε 5  
 πολεμίους εὐθὺς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα πλευσομένους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὑπολοίπους ἡμῶν ἀδυνάτους ἐσομένους  
 τοὺς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀμύνασθαι.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν ὑπὸ Συρακοσίοις εὐθὺς γίγνοισθε,  
 οἷς αὐτοὶ ἴστε οἷα γνώμη ἐπήλθετε, οἱ δ' ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ 10  
 2 Λακεδαιμονίοις. Ὡστε ἐν ἐνὶ τῷδε ὑπὲρ ἀμφο-

3. [πολὺ πλείον] Kr., and many subsequent edd. Th. makes N. exaggerate the advantages enjoyed by the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος through belonging to the A. empire, and representing its majesty before the outside world. Cf. Junghahn, *Studien* '86, p. 50 f.

4. δικαίως ἂν . . καταπροδίδετε] δικαιώσατε . . μὴ καταπρο-  
 διδόναι Bh., and so Hw., Hu., Sitz.; δικαιούσαν αὐτὴν Sta., τι  
 πταίουσαν for δικαίως ἂν Widmann. After all it seems best to  
 bracket ἂν with Bk. and others; for δικαίως is probably in-  
 tended to form an *antithesis* to ἐλευθέρως: 'we show towards  
 you a liberal spirit; do you show towards us a just one.' For  
 μὴ καταπροδίδετε we might have had σώσατε: but (1) the nega-  
 tive expression contains a stronger appeal, (2) it connects the  
 appeal with τὸ μὴ ἀδikeῖσθαι, (3) it makes παρονομασία with  
 καταφρονήσαντες.

- 64 1. ἡμῶν CAEFGM; ἡμῶν B. — πλευσομένους BFM; rest  
 -οιμένοις. — οἷα (sic) γνώμη M.



τέρων ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτες καρτερήσατε, εἴπερ  
 ποτέ, καὶ ἐνθυμείσθε καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ ξύμ-  
 παντες ὅτι οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑμῶν III. ἐπίλογος. On  
 νῦν ἐσόμενοι καὶ πεζοὶ τοῖς Ἀθη- the issue depend 15  
 ναίοις εἰσὶ καὶ νῆες καὶ <ῆ> ὑπό-  
λοιπος πόλις καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,  
 περὶ ὧν, εἴ τίς τι ἕτερος ἑτέρου προφέρει ἢ  
 ἐπιστήμη ἢ εὐψυχία, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον  
 καιρῷ ἀποδειξάμενος αὐτός τε αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμος 20  
 γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς ξύμπασι σωτήριος.”

5 Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος  
 εὐθὺς ἐκέλευε πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς. ‘Very different  
 τῷ δὲ Γυλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις prevalent, and  
 παρῆν μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὁρῶσι καὶ very opposite  
 αὐτὴν τὴν παρασκευήν, ὅτι ναυμαχή- the burning  
 σουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, προηγγέλθη δ’ words uttered  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ἐπιβολὴ τῶν σιδηρῶν on the sea-board 5  
 2 χειρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἅλλα ἐξηρτύ- of the Syracusan  
 σαντο ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο· τὰς γὰρ station.—G. sent  
 πρῶρας καὶ τῆς νεὸς ἄνω ἐπὶ πολὺν κατεβύρσω- the fleet out  
 σαν, ὅπως ἂν ἀπολισθάνοι καὶ μὴ ἔχοι ἀντι- with the usual  
 3 λαβὴν ἢ χεὶρ ἐπιβαλλομένη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα prefatory  
 ἐτοῖμα ἦν, παρεκελεύσαντο ἐκείνοις οἳ τε στρατη- harangue.’  
 γοὶ καὶ Γύλιππος καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

2. [καὶ νῆες] Badham ; καὶ ἱππῆς Gomperz. Cf. *Iliad* vi. 429 Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ | ἠδὲ κασίγνητος. Hw. reads ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑμῶν νῦν ἐσομένοις, i.e. *ex iis pendens*, comparing Eur. *Iph. A.* 1379 κἀν ἐμοὶ πορθμός τε ναῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν κατασκαφαί.—ἡ Valla ; MSS. om.—τι om. M.—αὐτῷ(ι) CAEFGM ; ἐαυτῷ B.

5 2. καὶ ὅπως M.—ὅπως [ἄν] Hw.—ἔχη BM.

3. ἐτοιμα πάντα B.

66 “Οτι μὲν καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα καὶ ὑπὲρ

1. The προοίμιον (c. 66, 67, 1) is all in the form of a πρόθεσις:  
 a. What we have already done is glorious (§§ 1, 2).  
 b. The enemy's hopes are waning (§ 3).  
 c. Our hopes are rising (c. 67, 1).

2 καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, ὃ Συρακόσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οἳ τε πολλοὶ δοκεῖτε ἡμῖν εἰδέναι (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν οὕτως προθύμως ἀντε- 5 λάβεσθε) καὶ εἴ τις μὴ ἐπὶ ὅσον δεῖ ἥσθηται, σημανοῦμεν. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐς τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἐλθόντας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας κατα- 10 δουλώσει, ἔπειτ', εἰ κατορθώσειαν, καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἤδη μεγίστην τῶν τε πρὶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν νῦν κεκτημένους, πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων ὑποστάντες τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὥπερ πάντα κατέσχον, τὰς μὲν νενικήκατε ἤδη ναυμαχίας, τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ 15 εἰκότος νῦν νικήσετε. ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ὧ ἀξιοῦσι προύχειν κολουθῶσι, τό γ' ὑπόλοιπον αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐστίν ἢ εἰ μὴδ' ὥήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ αὐχήματος σφαλλόμενοι καὶ παρὰ 20 ἰσχὺν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδιδόασιν· ὃ νῦν Ἀθηναίους

67 εἰκὸς πεπονθέναι. ἡμῶν δὲ τό τε ὑπάρχον πρότερον, ὥπερ καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες ἔτι ὄντες ἀπετολμήσαμεν, βεβαιότερον νῦν, καὶ τῆς δοκήσεως προσγεγεννημένης αὐτῷ τοῦ κρατίστους εἶναι εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνικήσαμεν, διπλασία 5

- 66 1. οὕτως αὐτῶν all but B.  
 2. [ἤδη] μεγίστην Cl.—ἤδη before ναυμαχίας B only; rest om.  
 3. κολουθῶσι CEFGM.—τὸ for τῷ M; οὕτω Sitz.—ἀτυχήματος for αὐχήματος Hw.

67 1. ὑμῶν MSS.—τὸ κρατίστους MSS.; cor. Kr.

ἐκάστου ἢ ἐλπίς· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ μεγίστη ἐλπίς μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν παρέχεται.

- 2 Τὰ τε τῆς ἀντιμιμήσεως αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν τῷ μὲν ἡμετέρῳ τρόπῳ ξυνήθη τέ 10  
 ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστοι πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐσόμεθα· οἱ δ', ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ὦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισταί, χερσαῖοι ὥς εἰπεῖν Ἀκαρνᾶνές τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ναῦς ἀναβάντες, οἱ οὐδ' ὅπως<sup>1</sup>·  
 καθεζομένους χρῆν τὸ βέλος ἀφεῖναι εὐρήσουσι, πῶς οὐ σφαλῶσιν τε τὰς ναῦς καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πάντες, οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ κινούμενοι,  
 3 ταραζονται; ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ὠφελήσονται, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ὑμῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἴσαις ναυμαχήσει, πεφόβηται· ἐν ὀλίγῳ γὰρ πολλαὶ 25  
 ἀργότεραι μὲν ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι ὦν βούλονται ἔσονται, ῥᾶσται δὲ ἐς τὸ βλάπτεσθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν  
 4 παρεσκεύασται. τὸ δ' ἀληθέστατον γινώτε, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα σαφῶς πεπύσθαι· ὑπερβαλλόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ βιαζόμενοι 30  
 ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν οὐ παρασκευῆς πίστει μᾶλλον ἢ τύχης

II. πίστις (c. 67, 2-4). THE A. HAVE NO CHANCE:

a. We are prepared to meet all their expedients (§ 2);

b. The numbers on board will only confuse them (§ 2);

c. The number of their ships will do them more harm than good (§ 3);

d. They are already desperate (§ 4).

15

20

1. τὰ δὲ . . ἐλπίς B only; rest om.

2. ἕκαστον B only; rest τὴν ἐκάστην; τὴν ἐκάστην τέχνην Hu.—αὐτῶν] αὐτῶι EGM; αὐτῶν ACF; ἑαυτῶν B.

ἀποκινδυνεύσαι οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται, ἢ ἢ βια-  
 σάμενοι ἐκπλεύσωσιν ἢ κατὰ γῆν μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν  
 ἀποχώρησιν ποιῶνται, ὥς τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ 35  
 ἂν πράξαντες χεῖρον.

- 68 Πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν τε τοιαύτην καὶ τύχην  
 III. ἐπίλογος. ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὴν παραδεδωκυῖαν πολε-  
 a. §§ 1, 2. Justice is on μιωτάτων, ὀργῇ προσμείζωμεν, καὶ  
 our side. νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον  
 b. § 3. Suc- νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον  
 cess now εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἳ ἂν ὥς 5  
 will make us secure  
 once for all. ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος δι-  
 καιώσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον,  
 ἅμα δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν  
 2 καί, τὸ λεγόμενόν που, ἥδιστον εἶναι. ὥς δὲ  
 ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔχθιστοι πάντες ἴστε, οἳ γε ἐπὶ τὴν 10  
 ἡμετέραν ἦλθον δουλωσόμενοι, ἐν ᾧ, εἰ κατῶρ-  
 θωσαν, ἀνδράσι μὲν ἂν τὰ ἀλγιστα προσέθεσαν,  
 παισὶ δὲ καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ ἀπρεπέστατα, πόλει δὲ  
 3 τῇ πάσῃ τὴν αἰσχίστην ἐπὶ κλησιν. ἀνθ' ὧν μὴ  
 μαλακισθῆναί τινα πρέπει μηδὲ τὸ ἀκινδύνως 15  
 ἀπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς κέρδος νομίσαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ  
 καὶ ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν, ὁμοίως δράσουσι· τὸ δέ,  
 πραξάντων ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος ἃ βουλόμεθα, τούσδε  
 τε κολασθῆναι καὶ τῇ πάσῃ Σικελίᾳ καρπουμένη  
 καὶ πρὶν ἐλευθερίαν βεβαιότεραν παραδοῦναι, 20

4. ἀποκινδυνεύσει MSS. ; cor. Duker.—βιαζόμενοι for βιασά-  
 μενοι M.—ποιοῦνται CEFM.—πράζοντες BCEGM.

- 68 1. πῶς for πρὸς M.—ἐκγενησόμενον B only ; rest ἐγγενη-  
 σόμενον.—[καὶ] Reiske and subsequent edd., taking ἥδιστον εἶναι  
 as dependent on λεγόμενον. But the construction is probably  
 ἐκγενησόμενον καὶ ἥδ. εἶναι, while τὸ λ. που is absolute, as in c.  
 87, 6, and as it regularly is.

3. πραξάντων ἡμῶν B.—τοὺς δέ τε καὶ M.



καλὸς ὁ ἀγών. καὶ κινδύνων οὗτοι σπανιώτατοι  
οἱ ἂν ἐλάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες  
πλείστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι ὠφελῶσιν.”

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ  
Γύλιππος τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς σφετέροις  
στρατιώταις παρακελευσάμενοι ἀντεπλήρουν τὰς  
ναῦς εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤσθάνοντο.  
ὁ δὲ Νικίας ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκπεπληγμένος  
καὶ ὀρῶν οἷος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ὥς ἐγγὺς ἦδη [ἦν],  
ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνάγε-  
σθαι, καὶ νομίσας, ὅπερ πᾶσχουσιν  
ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι, πάντα τε  
ἔργῳ ἔτι σφίσιν ἐνδεᾶ εἶναι καὶ  
λόγῳ αὐτοῖς οὐπω ἱκανὰ εἰρῆσθαι,  
αὐθις τῶν τριηράρχων ἓνα ἕκαστον  
ἀνεκάλει, πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων  
καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλήν, ἀξιῶν τό τε  
καθ’ ἑαυτόν, ᾧ ὑπῆρχε λαμπρότητός τι, μὴ  
προδιδόναι τινὰ καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς ἀρετάς, ὧν  
ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πρόγονοι, μὴ ἀφανίζειν,  
πατρίδος τε τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης ὑπομιμνήσκων  
καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεπιτάκτου πᾶσιν ἐς τὴν  
δίαιταν ἐξουσίας, ἄλλα τε λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ  
τοιούτῳ ἦδη τοῦ καιροῦ ὄντες ἄνθρωποι οὐ πρὸς  
τὸ δοκεῖν τινι ἀρχαιολογεῖν φυλαζάμενοι εἵποιεν  
ἂν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων παραπλήσια ἔς τε

‘N., feeling more  
keenly than any  
man the in-  
tensity of this  
last death  
struggle,—still  
thought that he  
had not said  
enough. He  
now renewed  
his appeal  
personally to  
the trierarchs.’

3. ὠφελοῦσι all but B.

2. [ἦν] is rightly omitted in B.—ἔργα M.—ἔτι om. AEFM.—  
[καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ] Philippi, Sta., Sitz. ; but, if any change is  
necessary, it would be better to read ὀνομάζων for ἐπ.—ἀτιμάζειν  
M.—ὄντος all but B.—τινα for τινι M.

γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρώους προ-  
φερόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐκπλήξει ὠφέ- 25  
λιμα νομίζοντες ἐπιβοῶνται.

- 3 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ἱκανὰ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα  
νομίσας παρηνῆσθαι, ἀποχωρήσας  
ἦγε τὸν πεζὸν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ  
παρέταξεν ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο,  
ὅπως ὅτι μεγίστη τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν 5  
ὠφελία ἐς τὸ θαρσεῖν γίγνοιτο. ὁ  
δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ  
Εὐθύδημος (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐπέβησαν)  
ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατο- 10

πέδου εὐθὺς ἔπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ λιμένος  
καὶ τὸν παρακλησθέντα διέκπλουν βουλόμενοι

- 70 βιάσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἔξω. προεξαγαγόμενοι δὲ οἱ  
Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοί ναυσὶ παραπλησίαις  
τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πρότερον, κατὰ τε τὸν ἔκπλουν  
μέρει αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον  
κύκλῳ λιμένα, ὅπως πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπίπ- 5  
τοιεν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα αὐτοῖς  
παρεβοήθει ἥπερ καὶ αἱ νῆες κατίσχοιεν. ἦρχον  
δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις Σικανὸς μὲν

3. μᾶλλον ἢ B ; μᾶλλον καὶ the rest ; μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Hu. ;  
μᾶλλον ἢ <οὐκ> Hw.

4. εὐθύδημος all but B.—παρακλησθέντα] παραλειφθέντα CAEFM  
Schol., Dion. Hal. ; καταλειφθέντα B ; παραληφθέντα G ; κατα-  
ληφθέντα inferior MSS., Valla and several edd. ; περιλειφθέντα  
Bk. ; [καὶ τὸν καταλειφθέντα δ.] Hw. The variants point to  
some rarer word which they have displaced, and this word is  
probably a compound of κλήω. Cf. c. 72, 3. See note.

- 70 1. προεξαγαγόμενοι Dion. Hal.—αὐτοῖς ἅμα all but B.—παρ-  
εβοήθει Dion. Hal. ; παραβοηθεῖ CM ; παραβοηθῇ B.

καὶ Ἀγάθαρχος, κέρας ἐκάτερος τοῦ παντὸς ἔχων, Πυθὴν δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὸ μέσον. 10  
 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι προσέμισγον τῷ ζεύγματι, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ῥύμῃ ἐπιπλέοντες ἐκράτουν τῶν τεταγμένων νεῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο λύειν τὰς κλήσεις· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν σφίσι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων ἐπιφερομένων οὐ πρὸς τῷ ζεύγματι ἔτι μόνον ἢ ναυμαχία ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἦν καρτερὰ καὶ οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρα τῶν 15  
 3 προτέρων. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέροις προθυμία ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν ὁπότε κελευσθεῖν ἐγίγνετο, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ ἀντιτέχνησις τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οἳ τε ἐπιβάται 25  
 ἐθεράπευον, ὁπότε προσπέσοι ναῦς νηί, μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος τῆς ἄλλης τέχνης· πᾶς τέ τις ἐν ᾧ προσετέτακτο αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἠπείγετο πρῶτος φαίνεσθαι.  
 4 ξυμπεσουσῶν δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν νεῶν (πλεῖσται 30  
 γὰρ δὴ αὖται ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἐναυμάχησαν· βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον ξυναμφότεραι διακόσiai γενέσθαι), αἱ μὲν ἐμβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ διέκπλους ὀλίγαι ἐγίγνοντο, αἱ δὲ προσβολαί, ὥς τύχοι ναῦς νηὶ προσπεσοῦσα ἢ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν 35

‘The A. fleet made directly for the barrier.—They were already attempting to sever its connecting bonds, when the enemy crowded in upon them and forced them to desist.—On both sides a fierce and desperate courage was displayed,—the skill of the steersmen shone conspicuous.—After a time, all sort of order became lost.’

2. οἱ ἄλλοι om. BM; ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Dion. Hal.; ἐπ. δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄ. E.—κλείσεις GM.—ἦν ἢ ναυμαχία B.

4. ἐκβολαὶ BAFGM, Dion. Hal.—φυνγεῖν AEFM, Dion. Hal.

- 5 ἡ ἄλλη ἐπιπλέουσα, πυκνότεραι ἦσαν. καὶ ὅσον  
 μὲν χρόνον προσφέροιτο ναῦς, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-  
 στρωμάτων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ  
 λίθοις ἀφθόνως ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχρῶντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 προσμείξιαν, οἱ ἐπιβάται ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντες 10  
 ἐπειρῶντο ταῖς ἀλλήλων ναυσὶν ἐπιβαίνειν.
- 6 ξυνετύγχανέ τε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεβληκέναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 ἐμβεβληθῆναι, δύο τε περὶ μίαν καὶ ἔστιν ἡ καὶ  
 πλείους ναῦς κατ' ἀνάγκην ξυνηρτῆσθαι, καὶ 45  
 τοῖς κυβερνήταις τῶν μὲν φυλακὴν τῶν δ' ἐπι-  
 βουλήν, μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ  
 πανταχόθεν, περιεστάναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον μέγαν  
 ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ξυμπιπτουσῶν ἔκπληξιν τε  
 ἅμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ὧν οἱ κελευσταὶ 50
- 7 φθέγγονται παρέχειν. πολλὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡ παρα-  
 κέλευσις καὶ βοή ἀφ' ἑκατέρων τοῖς  
 κελευσταῖς κατὰ τε τὴν τέχνην καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐγίγνετο,  
 τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις βιάζεσθαι τε τὸν 55  
 ἔκπλουν ἐπιβοῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς  
 τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρίας νῦν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις,  
 προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις  
 καὶ ξυμμάχοις καλὸν εἶναι κωλύσαί τε αὐτοὺς  
 διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστους πατρίδα 60
- 8 νικήσαντας ἐπαυξῆσαι. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ προσ-

5. εἰς CAFGM.

6. ἐφθέγγοντο Dion. Hal. ; φθέγγοντο (sic) B.

7. ἡ before παρακέλευσις B only ; rest om.—τε before τὴν τέχ.  
 B and Dion. Hal. only ; rest om.—ἐκάστου M, Dion. Hal.



1 ἐτι ἐκατέρων, εἴ τινα που ὀρώεν μὴ κατ'  
 ἀνάγκην πρύμναν κρουόμενον, ἀνακαλοῦντες  
 ὀνομαστὶ τὸν τριήραρχον ἡρώτων, οἱ μὲν Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, εἰ τὴν πολεμιωτάτην γῆν οἰκειοτέραν ἤδη 65  
 τῆς οὐ δι' ὀλίγου πόνου κεκτημένης θαλάσσης  
 ἡγούμενοι ὑποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ οὓς  
 σαφῶς ἴσασι προθυμουμένους [Ἀθηναίους] παντὶ  
 τρόπῳ διαφυγεῖν, τούτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντας φεύ-  
 71 γουσιν. ὃ τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων ἰσορρόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας  
 καθεστηκυίας πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ  
 ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε, φιλονικῶν  
 μὲν ὁ αὐτόθεν περὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἤδη καλοῦ, 5  
 δεδιότες δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μὴ τῶν παρόντων ἔτι  
 2 χεῖρῳ πράξωσι. πάντων γὰρ δὴ ἀνακειμένων  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὃ τε φόβος ἦν ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐδενὶ εἰκῶς καὶ διὰ τὸ <ἀνώ-  
 μαλον> τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν 10  
 3 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡναγκάζοντο ἔχειν. δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ  
 οὔσης τῆς θέας καὶ οὐ πάντων ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 σκοπούντων, εἰ μὲν τινες ἴδοιέν πῃ τοὺς σφετέ-  
 ρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησάν τε ἂν καὶ πρὸς  
 ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερεῆσαι σφᾶς τῆς σωτηρίας 15  
 ἐτρέποντο· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσώμενον βλέψαντες

8. πόνου is wanting except in B, Schol., Dion. Hal.—ἀποχω-  
 ροῦσιν all but B.—[Ἀθηναίους] Duker; then Cl. and subsequent  
 edd.—φεύγουσιν] ἔχουσιν M.

71 2. διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας MSS.; cor.  
 Wölflin, and so Hw., Sitz. Cf. Plut. Nic. 25 διὰ τὴν παντὸς  
 ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολὰς λαμβάνοντος.—διὰ τὸ  
 ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς <εἶναι, ἀνω-  
 μάλως> ἡναγκάζοντο ἔχειν Gertz.

3. ἂν om. B.

- ὀλοφυρμῷ τε ἅμα μετὰ βοῆς ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τὴν γνώμην μάλ-  
 λον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀντίπαλόν τι τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπιδόντες, διὰ 20  
 τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχὲς τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τοῖς σώ-  
 μασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεῶς ξυναπονεύ-  
 οντες ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διήγον· αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ’  
 4 ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο. ἦν τε ἐν τῷ  
 αὐτῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, 25  
 ἕως ἀγχώματα ἐναυμάχουν, πάντα  
 ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή, νι-  
 κῶντες, κρατούμενοι, ἄλλα ὅσ’ ἂν ἐν  
 μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον  
 πολυειδῇ ἀναγκάζοιτο φθέγγεσθαι. 30  
 5 παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς  
 ἔπασχον, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ-  
 μαχοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχούσης τῆς ναυμαχίας  
 ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπικείμενοι  
 λαμπρῶς, πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ χρώ- 35  
 6 μνοι, κατεδίωκον ἐς τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ ὁ μὲν  
 ναυτικὸς στρατός, ἄλλος ἄλλη, ὅσοι μὴ μετέωροι  
 ἐάλωσαν, κατενεχθέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον· ὁ δὲ πεζὸς οὐκέτι διαφόρως, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ  
 μιᾶς ὁρμῆς οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ στόνῳ 40  
 πάντες, δυσάνασχετοῦντες τὰ γιγνό-  
 μενα, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς παρεβοή-  
 θουν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ

3. αὐτῆς for αὐτοῖς M.

4. ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι AEFM, Dion. Hal.—βοή, ὀλοφυρμός  
 Elmsley, ‘ut gradatio sit a minore ad majus.’—ὅσα ἐν MSS. ;  
 cor. Hw.

6. ὁρμῆς] ὀργῆς M.

τείχους ἐς φυλακὴν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἤδη περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπη σωθήσονται διεσκόπουν.

despair.—The boldest rushed to rescue the ships, —others to man their walls.' 45

7 ἦν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὐδεμιᾶς δὴ τῶν ξυμφορῶν ἐλάσσων ἑκπληξίς. παραπλήσιά τ' ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ ἔδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ· διαφθαρεισῶν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 50 προσαπώλλυντο αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρες διαβεβηκότες, καὶ τότε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέλπιστον ἦν τὸ κατὰ γῆν σωθήσεσθαι, ἦν μὴ τι παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται.

2 Γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ πολλῶν νεῶν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπικρατήσαντες τά τε ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλυντο καὶ ἀποπλεύσαντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τροπαῖον 5 ἔστησαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῶν παρόντων κακῶν νεκρῶν μὲν πέρι ἣ ναυαγίων οὐδὲ ἐπενόουν αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐβουλεύοντο εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν. 10

3 Δημοσθένης δὲ Νικίᾳ προσελθὼν γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο πληρώσαντας ἔτι τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν βιάσασθαι, ἦν δύνωνται, ἅμα ἕω τὸν ἑκπλουν, λέγων

'The S. had suffered severely.—In the camp of the A.—no man thought of picking up the floating bodies or asking for a truce.' 5

'D. proposed to N. that at day-break—they should make a fresh attempt to break out of the harbour.'

6. οἱ καὶ πλείστοι M.—ἤδη [περὶ] σφᾶς αὐτοὺς [καὶ] Hw. ; Kr., Hu. bracket καὶ only ; ὅπη καὶ Gertz.

7. ξυμφορῶν B only ; rest ξυμπασῶν.—τ' ἐπεπόνθεσαν M ; τε πεπόνθεσαν AEF G ; τε ἐπεπόνθεσαν BC.—αὐταῖς is wrongly attributed to M.—παρὰ λόγον Dion. Hal. ; παράλογον MSS.

72 1. ἀπολωμένων M. 2. ἐβούλυντο B, Sitz.

but.

N. agreed—but nothing could prevail upon the seamen to go again on ship-board.—Preparations were therefore made  
4 for commencing their march that very night.'

ὅτι πλείους ἔτι αἱ λοιπαὶ εἰσι νῆες 15  
χρήσιμαί σφίσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις·  
ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις περί-  
λοιποι ὡς ἐξήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις  
ἐλάσσους ἢ πεντήκοντα. καὶ ξυγχο-  
ροῦντος Νικίου τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλο- 20

μένων πληροῦν αὐτῶν οἱ ναῦται οὐκ ἠθέλον  
ἐσβαίνειν διὰ τὸ καταπεπλήχθαι τε τῇ ἥσῃ καὶ  
μὴ ἂν ἔτι οἷεσθαι κρατῆσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς  
κατὰ γῆν ἀναχωρήσουτες ἤδη ξύμπαντες τὴν  
73 γνώμην εἶχον. Ἑρμοκράτης δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος  
ὑπονοήσας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νομίσας  
δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ τοσαύτη στρατιὰ κατὰ γῆν  
ὑποχωρήσασα καὶ καθεζομένη ποι τῆς Σικελίας  
βουλήσεται αὖθις σφίσι τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, 5  
ἔσηγεῖται ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὔσιν  
ὡς οὐ χρεὼν ἀποχωρῆσαι τῆς νυκτὸς  
αὐτοὺς περιδεῖν, λέγων ταῦτα ἅ καὶ  
αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ ἐξελθόντας ἤδη  
πάντας Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμ- 10  
μάχους τὰς τε ὁδοὺς ἀποικοδομήσαι  
καὶ τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων προ-  
φθάσαντας φυλάσσειν. οἱ δὲ ξυνε-  
γίνωσκον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν  
ταῦτα ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐδόκει ποιητέα 15  
εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἄρτι ἰσμένους ἀπὸ

'Hermokrates—  
pressed the  
authorities to  
send out forth-  
with, and block  
up the principal  
roads. Though  
sensible of the  
wisdom of his  
advice, the  
generals thought  
it unexecutable.  
—He resorted to  
a stratagem to  
delay the de-  
parture of the  
A. for that  
night.'

- 73 4. τε before τῇ ἥσῃ B only ; rest om.—ἀναχωρήσαντες CM.  
1. [λέγων . . ἐδόκει] Bloomfield.—ταῦτα] ταῦτὰ Kr.—ἅ καὶ  
καὶ ἅ ME ; ἅπερ Sitz. ; [καὶ] Cl.—αὐτῷ] αὐτοῖς Bauer ; Γυλίππῳ  
or αὐτῷ τῷ Γυλίππῳ Dobree.—προφθάσαντας] διαλαβόντας B, Sitz.  
2. ἰσμένους. This must be the spelling, owing to ἡδομαι.



ναυμαχίας τε μεγάλης ἀναπεπαυμένους καὶ ἅμα  
 ἑορτῆς οὔσης (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ἑρακλεῖ ταύτην  
 τὴν ἡμέραν θυσία οὔσα) οὐ δοκεῖν ἂν ῥαδίως  
 ἐθελῆσαι ὑπακοῦσαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ περιχαροῦς 20  
 τῆς νίκης πρὸς πόσιν τετράφθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἐλπίζειν ἂν  
 σφῶν πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἢ ὄπλα λαβόντας ἐν τῷ  
 3 παρόντι ἐξελθεῖν. Ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ταῦτα  
 λογιζομένοις ἐφαίνετο ἄπορα καὶ οὐκέτι ἔπειθεν 25  
 αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις τάδε  
 μηχανᾶται, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 προφθάσωσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ διελθόντες τὰ χαλε-  
 πώτατα τῶν χωρίων· πέμπει τῶν  
 ἐταίρων τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ 30  
 ἱππέων πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 στρατόπεδον ἡνίκα ξυνεσκόταζεν·  
 οἱ προσελάσαντες ἐξ ὅσου τις ἔμελ-  
 λεν ἀκούσεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενοί  
 τινὰς ὥς ὄντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπι- 35  
 τήδειοι) (ἦσαν γὰρ τινες τῷ Νικίᾳ  
 διάγγελοι τῶν ἔνδοθεν) ἐκέλευον  
 φράζειν Νικίᾳ μὴ ἀπάγειν τῆς  
 νυκτὸς τὸ στράτευμα, ὥς Συρα-  
 κοσίων τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλασσόντων,  
 ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τῆς ἡμέρας  
 4 παρασκευασάμενον ἀποχωρεῖν. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον, καὶ οἱ  
 ἀκούσαντες διήγγειλαν τοῖς στρατη-  
 4 γοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγελμα  
 ἐπέσχον τὴν νύκτα, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀπάτην

'He sent some friends to the A. wall.—The private correspondents of N. in S. had sent to warn him (they affirmed) not to decamp during the night, as the S. had already occupied the roads. This fraud was successful. The generals determined also to stay the next day,—that the army might carry away as much of their baggage as possible. G. had thus time to occupy all the positions convenient for obstructing the A. march.' 30 35 40

εἶναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὥς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν περι-  
 μείναι, ὅπως ξυσκευάσαιντο ὥς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν  
 οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι χρησιμώτατα, καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ἄλλα πάντα κατάλιπεῖν, ἀναλαμβάνοντες δὲ αὐτὰ  
 ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐς δίαιταν ὑπῆρχεν ἐπιτήδεια  
 2 ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Συρακόσιοι δὲ καὶ Γύλιππος τῷ  
 μὲν πεζῷ προεξελθόντες τὰς τε ὁδοὺς τὰς κατὰ  
 τὴν χώραν ἢ εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἰέναι  
 ἀπεφάργνυσαν, καὶ τῶν ρείθρων καὶ [τῶν] ποτα-  
 μῶν τὰς διαβάσεις ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐς ὑποδοχὴν  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος ὥς κωλύσοντες ἢ ἐδόκει ἐτάσ-  
 σοντο· ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες τὰς ναῦς  
 15 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀφείλκον  
 (ἐνέπρησαν δέ τινας ὀλίγας, ὥσπερ διανοήθησαν,  
 αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι), τὰς δ' ἄλλας καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ὥς ἐκάστην ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν  
 ἀναδησάμενοι ἐκόμιζον ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

75 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ  
 [τῷ] Δημοσθένει ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ ἡ  
 ἀνάστασις ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος  
 1 but one after the defeat N.  
 2 and D. put their army in motion.  
 It was not until the army had begun its march that the full measure of wretchedness  
 τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας  
 ἐγίγνετο. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἐν  
 5 μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι τὰς τε  
 ναῦς ἀπολωλεκότες πάσας ἀπεχώ-  
 ρουν καὶ ἀντὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος καὶ

74 1. ὥς GM; ὥς BAEF; ὥς C; [καὶ ἐπειδὴ] καὶ ὥς Sta.—  
 συσκευάσωνται M.

2. προεξελθόντες all but B.—ἀπεφάργνυσαν MSS.; cor. Hu.  
 Meisterhans p. 145.—[τῶν] wanting in B.—ἀφείλον M.

75 1. [τῷ] is wanting in B.

αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, was felt and manifested.—  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ The scenes of 10  
 στρατοπέδου ξυνέβαινε τῇ τε ὄψει endurance.  
 3 ἐκάστω ἀλγεῖνὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ αἰσθέσθαι. τῶν  
 τε γὰρ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων ὄντων, ὅποτε τις ἴδοι  
 τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κείμενον, ἐς λύπην μετὰ  
 φόβου καθίστατο, καὶ οἱ ζῶντες καταλειπόμενοι 15  
 τραυματαῖοι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς πολὺ τῶν τεθνεώτων  
 τοῖς ζῶσι λυπηρότεροι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων  
 4 ἀθλιώτεροι. πρὸς γὰρ ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρ-  
 μὸν τραπόμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίστασαν, ἄγειν τε  
 σφᾶς ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐπιβοώμενοι, εἴ 20  
 τινὰ πού τις ἴδοι ἢ ἐταίρων ἢ οἰκείων, τῶν τε  
 ξυσκῆνων ἡδὴ ἀπιόντων ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι καὶ  
 ἐπακολουθοῦντες ὅσον δύναιντο, εἴ τῳ δὲ προ-  
 λίποι ἢ ῥώμῃ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων  
 ἐπιθεασμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπόμενοι· ὥστε 25  
 δάκρυσι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθὲν καὶ ἀπορία  
 τοιαύτῃ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καίπερ ἐκ πολε-  
 μίας τε καὶ μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα τὰ μὲν πεπον-  
 θότας ἡδὴ, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφανεῖ δεδιότας μὴ  
 5 πάθωσι. κατήφειά τέ τις ἅμα καὶ  
 κατάμεμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλὴ ἦν.  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορ-

30  
 'A downcast  
 stupor and sense  
 of abasement  
 possessed every  
 man.'

3. [τοῖς ζῶσι] Sta.; [τοῖς ζῶσι] or τοῖς ὀρώσι Cl.; τοῖς ἀπιούσι  
 Hw.; τ. ἐξιούσι Naber; τ. σφῶς or σωσι Hu.; τ. ἡβῶσι or ὀρμῶσι  
 Widmann.

4. πού τις M.—ἐς ὅσον B.—προλείποι CAEFM; προλείπει G.  
 —ἄνευ] μετ' Sitz.—ὀλίγων] οὐκ ὀλίγων Mül.-Str.; λυγρῶν Heil-  
 mann; συχνῶν Pr.; ἀλόγων Madvig; οἰκτρῶν Hw.; λιγέων  
 Koth; ὀμῶν Hu.; [ὀλίγων] Sta. See note.—ἐπιθ(ε)ασμῶν MSS.;  
 cor. Cobet *V.L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 590.—ὑπολειπόμενοι B.—μή τι all but B.

κημένην ἐφέκεσαν ὑποφευγούσῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐ  
σμικρᾷ· μυριάδες γὰρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ὄχλου οὐκ  
ἐλάσσους τεσσάρων ἅμα ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ τού- 35  
των οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφερον ὅ τι τις ἐδύνατο  
ἕκαστος χρήσιμον, καὶ οἳ ὀπλῖται καὶ οἳ ἱππῆς

παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοὶ τὰ σφέτερα  
αὐτῶν σιτία ὑπὸ τοῖς ὕπλοις, οἳ μὲν  
ἀπορία ἀκολουθῶν, οἳ δὲ ἀπιστία· 40  
ἀπηντομολήκεσαν γὰρ πάλαι τε καὶ  
οἳ πλεῖστοι παραχρήμα. ἔφερον δὲ  
οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἱκανά· σῖτος γὰρ οὐκέτι

6 ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ μὴν ἢ <τ'> ἄλλη  
αἰκία καὶ ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν, ἔχουσά τινα 45  
ὅμως τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν κούφισιν, οὐδ' ὥς ῥαδία  
ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐδοξάζετο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ οἴας  
λαμπρότητος καὶ αὐχήματος τοῦ πρώτου ἐς οἴαν  
7 τελευτήν καὶ ταπεινότητα ἀφίκατο. μέγιστον  
γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον τοῦτο [τῷ] Ἑλληνικῷ 50  
στρατεύματι ἐγένετο, οἷς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἄλλους  
δουλωσομένους ἤκειν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο μᾶλλον

5. ἔφερον πάντες B.—ἕκαστος B; the rest κατὰ τὸ. [κατὰ τὸ] Hu., perhaps rightly; κατὰ τὸ <σωμα> Gertz.—αὐτοὶ τε τὰ σφέτερα AEFGM; αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ σ. C; αὐτοὶ τὰ σ. B; αὐτοὶ γε τὰ σ. Bothe; αὐτοὶ γε καὶ τὰ σ. Hu.—ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ Bothe; then Pluygers and several edd.—ἀπηντομολήκεισαν CM.

6. ἢ <τ'> ἄλλη. Cf. c. 77, 7. I have added τ' because ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν is part of the αἰκία, with which it makes one expression (see note); καὶ μὴν <καὶ> ἢ ἄ. Gertz; [ἢ ἄ. αἰκία] Cl.; after αἰκία Sta. thinks that something is lost.—[καὶ ἡ] ἰσομοιρία Dobree.—[ἡ] ἰσομοιρία; [καὶ ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κ.] Sitz.—[τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν] Badham, Hu.—ἄλλως τε καὶ <ἐνθυμονιμένους> Hw.—ἀφίκατο] ἀφίκτο MSS.; cor. Badham.

7. [τῷ] Schol.; τῷ Pp.—τοὺς ἄλλους for τοῦ ἄλλους M.—αὐτοὺς om. M.



δεδιότας μὴ πάθωσι ξυνέβη ἀπιέναι, ἀντὶ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον, πάλιν τούτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, 55 πεζοὺς τε ἀντὶ ναυβατῶν πορευομένους καὶ ὀπλιτικῶ προσέχοντας μᾶλλον ἢ ναυτικῶ. ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ ἐπικρεμαμένου ἔτι κινδύνου πάντα ταῦτα αὐτοῖς οἷστ' ἐφαίνετο.

6 Ὅρων δὲ ὁ Νικίας τὸ στράτευμα ἀθυμοῦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ ὄν, ἐπιπαριῶν ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐθάρσυνέ τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, βοῇ τε χρώμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκάστοις καθ' οὓς γίγνεται ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ βουλόμενος ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγωνίσκων ὠφέλειν.

'N. displayed a degree of energy and heroism which he had never before seemed to possess.—He was seen everywhere, heartening up their dejection.'

5

7 “Ἔτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἐλπίδα χρὴ ἔχειν (ἤδη τινὲς καὶ ἐκ δεινοτέρων ἢ τοιῶνδε ἐσώθησαν), μηδὲ καταμέμφεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄγαν αὐτοὺς μήτε ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μήτε ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν 2 νῦν κακοπαθείαις. καὶ γὰρ τοι οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε ῥώμῃ προφέρων (ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε δὴ ὡς διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου) οὔτ' εὐτυχίᾳ δοκῶν που ὕστερός του εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, νῦν ἐν τῶ

πρόθεσις—  
'There is yet hope'—this leads without break into the πῖστις:

a. I myself have hope in spite of my troubles (§§ 1-2);

b. It is fair to expect that the gods will now incline to us (§ 3);

c. Your numbers are great, and you may hope to

5

10

7. παιῶνων CAEFM.—πεζοὺς δὲ all but B.—προσχόντας all but B.

7 1. καταμέμψασθαι all but B.—κακοπαθείαις BAG. Meisterhans p. 42.

2. κατὰ τε B only; rest om. τε.

reach a  
friendly  
place if you  
keep up  
your spirit  
and disci-  
pline  
(§§ 4-6).

3

αὐτῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς φανλοτάτοις αἰω-  
ροῦμαι· καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐς θεοὺς  
νόμιμα δεδιήτημαι, πολλὰ δὲ ἐς ἀν- 15  
θρώπους δίκαια καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα.  
ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐλπίς ὅμως θρασεῖα  
τοῦ μέλλοντος, αἱ δὲ ξυμφοραὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν δὴ  
φοβοῦσι. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ λωφήσειαν· ἱκανὰ γὰρ  
τοῖς τε πολεμίοις ηὐτύχηται καί, εἴ τῳ θεῶν 20  
ἐπίφθονοι ἐστρατεύσαμεν, ἀποχρώντως ἤδη τετι-  
4 μώρήμεθα. ἦλθον γάρ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἤδη  
ἐφ' ἐτέρους, καὶ ἀνθρώπεια δράσαντες ἀνεκτὰ  
ἔπαθον. καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς νῦν τὰ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
θείου ἐλπίζειν ἡπιώτερα ἔξειν (οἴκτου γὰρ ἀπ' 25  
αὐτῶν ἀξιώτεροι ἤδη ἐσμέν ἢ φθόνου), καὶ  
ὁρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἷοι ὀπλῖται ἅμα καὶ ὅσοι  
ξυντεταγμένοι χωρεῖτε μὴ καταπέπληχθε ἄγαν,  
λογίζεσθε δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε πόλις εὐθύς ἐστε ὅποι  
ἂν καθέζησθε καὶ ἄλλη οὐδεμία ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν 30  
Σικελίᾳ οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιόντας δέξαιτο ῥαδίως οὐτ' ἂν  
5 ἰδρυθέντας που ἐξαναστήσειε. τὴν δὲ πορείαν  
ὥστ' ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὐτακτόν εἶναι αὐτοὶ φυλάξατε,  
μὴ ἄλλο τι ἡγησάμενος ἕκαστος ἢ ἐν ᾧ ἂν  
ἀναγκασθῇ χωρίῳ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ πατρίδα 35  
6 καὶ τείχος κρατήσας ἔξειν. σπουδὴ δὲ ὁμοίως  
καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἔσται τῆς ὁδοῦ· τὰ γὰρ  
ἐπιτήδεια βραχέα ἔχομεν, καὶ ἦν ἀντιλαβώμεθά  
του φιλίου χωρίου τῶν Σικελῶν (οὗτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν  
διὰ τὸ Συρακοσίῳ δέος ἔτι βέβαιοί εἰσιν), ἤδη 40

3. φοβοῦσαι M ; φοβοῦσαι τάχ' ἂν Sta.

4. θείου] θεοῦ MSS. ; cor. Kr.

5. ἂν om. all but B.

νομίζετε ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ εἶναι. προπέπεμπται δ' ὡς αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν εἰρημένον καὶ σιτία ἅμα κομίζειν.

7 Τό τε ξύμπαν γνῶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἀναγκαῖόν τε ὃν ὑμῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀγα- ἐπίλογος. You 45  
θοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὄντος χωρίου must play the  
ἐγγὺς ὅποι ἀν μαλακισθέντες σω- man: thus only  
θεῖτε, καὶ ἦν νῦν διαφύγητε τοὺς can you see your  
πολεμίους, οἳ τε ἄλλοι τευξόμενοι ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖτέ homes and save  
που ἐπιδεῖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μεγάλην δύνα- the state.  
μιν τῆς πόλεως καίπερ πεπτωκυῖαν ἐπανορθώ- 50  
σοντας· ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ  
νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί.”

8 ● μὲν Νικίας τοιάδε παρακελευόμενος ἅμα  
ἐπήγει τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ εἴ πη ὁρώῃ διесπασ-  
μένον καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει χωροῦν ξυνάγων καὶ  
καθιστάς, καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν ἥσσον τοῖς  
καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοιαῦτά τε καὶ παραπλήσια λέγων. 5

2 τὸ δὲ ἐχώρει ἐν πλαισίῳ τεταγμένον, πρῶτον μὲν  
ἡγούμενον τὸ Νικίου, ἐφεπόμενον δὲ  
τὸ Δημοσθένους· τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους  
καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον ἐντὸς εἶχον  
3 οἱ ὀπλῖται. καὶ ἐπειδὴ [τε] ἐγένοντο 10  
ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἀνάπου ποτα-  
μοῦ, ἡῦρόν ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρατεταγ-  
μένους τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ **Ξυμ**

‘The army was distributed into two divisions; the front commanded by N.; the rear by D.’

*First Day.*  
‘They marched along the left bank of the Anapus—forced the passage—

6. ὀχυρῷ all but B.—προπέπεπετε all but B.—ἅμα] ἄλλα MSS. ; cor. Reiske.

7. τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν all but B.

8 2. πλαισίῳ] διπλασίῳ all but B.—πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενον om. all but B.

3. [τε] Kr.

and accom-  
plished about  
5 miles.'

μάχων, καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ  
κρατήσαντες τοῦ πόρου ἐχώρουν ἐς 15  
τὸ πρόσθεν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι περιπνεύοντές τε  
προσέκειντο καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες οἱ ψιλοί.

- 4 Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προελθόντες σταδίους  
*Second Day.* ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ἡύλίσαντο πρὸς  
'They halted, after about 2½  
miles, in a de-  
serted village.—  
The S. profited  
by this to  
occupy the  
Akraean cliff.' λόφῳ τινὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇ δ' 20  
ὑστεραία πρῶ ἐπόρευοντο καὶ προ-  
ῆλθον ὡς εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ κατ-  
έβησαν ἐς χωρίον ἄπεδόν τι καὶ  
αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, βουλόμενοι ἔκ τε τῶν  
οἰκιῶν λαβεῖν τι ἐδώδιμον (ᾠκεῖτο γὰρ ὁ χώρος) 25  
καὶ ὕδωρ μετὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι αὐτόθεν·  
ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια ἢ ἔμελλον  
5 ἵεναι οὐκ ἄφθονον ἦν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν  
τούτῳ προελθόντες τὴν δίοδον τὴν ἐν τῷ πρόσ-  
θεν ἀπετείχιζον· ἦν δὲ λόφος καρτερός καὶ 30  
ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ χαράδρα κρημνώδης, ἐκαλεῖτο  
δὲ Ἀκραῖον λέπας.

- 6 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προῆσαν, καὶ οἱ  
*Third Day.* τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων αὐ-  
'Even to reach  
this pass was  
beyond the A.  
—They were  
compelled to  
retreat to their  
camp of the  
night before.' τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων αὐ-  
τοὺς ἱππῆς καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ὄντες 35  
πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκώλυνον, καὶ  
ἐσηκόντιζόν τε καὶ παρίππευον. καὶ  
7 χρόνον μὲν πολὺν ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι, ἔπειτα ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
στρατόπεδον· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ὁμοίως 40  
εἶχον. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἀποχωρεῖν οἶόν τ' ἦν ὑπὸ  
τῶν ἱππέων.

4. προελθόντες all but G.—οἰκιῶν GM; rest οἰκείων.

5. ἔμπροσθεν M. 6. αὐτῶν M.—ἐκάτεροι all but B.



- 0 Πρὸ δὲ ἄραντες ἐπορεύοντο αὖθις, καὶ ἐβιά-  
σαντο πρὸς τὸν λόφον [ἐλθεῖν] τὸν  
ἀποτειχισμένον, καὶ ἡῦρον πρὸ  
ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποτειχίσματος  
τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν παρατεταγμέ-  
νην οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων· στενὸν  
2 γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι ἐτειχομάχουν, καὶ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ πολλῶν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἐπάντους ὄντος (δικνοῦντο γὰρ  
ῥῆον οἱ ἄνωθεν) καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι βιάσασθαι 10  
3 ἀνεχώρουν πάλιν καὶ ἀνέπαύοντο. ἔτυχον δὲ  
καὶ βρονταί τινες ἅμα γένομεναι καὶ  
ὔδωρ, οἷα τοῦ ἔτους πρὸς μετόπωρον  
ἤδη ὄντος φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι· ἀφ' ὧν  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον ἔτι ἠθύμουν,  
καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ  
4 καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίγνεσθαι. ἀνα-  
πανομένων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ Συρα-  
κόσιοι πέμπουσι μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποτει-  
χιούντας αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς ἥ προελη- 20  
λύθεσαν· ἀντιπέμψαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
5 τινὰς διεκώλυσαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσῃ τῇ  
στρατιᾷ ἀναχωρήσαντες πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον μᾶλλον  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἠύλίσαντο.

*Fourth Day.*  
'They arrived  
at the foot of  
the Akraean  
cliff.—Their  
efforts to force  
this position  
were vain.'

5

'They were yet  
further dis-  
heartened by  
storms—which  
they construed  
as portents.  
They fell back—  
15  
effecting their  
retreat into the  
open plain.'

15

- Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία προυχώρουν, καὶ οἱ Συρακό- 25  
σιοι προσέβαλλόν τε πανταχῇ αὐτοῖς  
κύκλῳ καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραυμάτι-  
ζον, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,

*Fifth Day.*  
'They attempted  
once more the  
march over the  
Akraean cliff.—

- 9 1. [ἐλθεῖν] Kr.  
5. προσέβαλλον GM.

4. αὐτὸν om. all but B.

They were so harassed that they could not accomplish one mile.'

ὑπεχώρουν, εἰ δ' ἀναχωροῖεν, ἐπέ-  
κειντο, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ὑστάτοις 30  
προσπίπτοντες, εἴ πως κατὰ βραχὺ

6 τρεψάμενοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα φοβήσκειαν. καὶ  
ἐπὶ πολὺν μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι, ἔπειτα προελθόντες πέντε ἢ ἑξ σταδίου  
ἀνεπαύοντο ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ· ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ 31  
Συρακόσιοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.

80 Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ Δημοσθένει  
ἑδόκει, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς σφίσι τὸ στρά-  
τευμα εἶχε τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων πάν-  
των ἀπορία ἤδη καὶ κατατετραυ-  
ματισμένοι ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἐν πολλαῖς προσβολαῖς 5  
τῶν πολεμίων γεγεννημέναις, πυρὰ καύσαντες ὥς  
πλεῖστα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατίαν, μηκέτι τὴν  
αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ διενεοήθησαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἢ οἱ  
2 Συρακόσιοι ἐτήρουν, πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἦν δὲ  
ἡ ξύμπασα ὁδὸς αὕτη οὐκ ἐπὶ Κατάνης τῷ 10  
στρατεύματι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς  
Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν καὶ τὰς  
ταύτη πόλεις καὶ Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βαρβάρους.  
3 καύσαντες οὖν πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐχώρουν ἐν τῇ νυκτί.

'They broke up amidst confusion and alarm.'

καὶ αὐτοῖς, οἷον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι 15  
στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγί-  
στοις, φόβοι καὶ δείματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε  
καὶ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ διὰ πολεμίας καὶ [ἀπὸ]  
πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχόντων ἰοῦσιν, ἐμπίπτει

80 1. τῷ Δημοσθένει M.—καύσαντας BAEFM.—ἢ B; ἢ C; ἢ  
ἢ Kr.; cf. Herod. ix. 56 ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.  
3. [ἀπὸ] Reiske.

4 *ταραχή·* καὶ τὸ μὲν Νικίου στράτευμα, ὥσπερ 20  
 ἡγεῖτο, ξυνέμενέ τε καὶ προύλαβε πολλῶ, τὸ δὲ  
 Δημοσθένους, τὸ ἥμισυ μάλιστα καὶ πλεόν,  
 ἀπεσπᾶσθη τε καὶ ἀτακτότερον ἐχώρει.

5 Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἕξ ἀφικνοῦνται ὁμῶς πρὸς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐσβάντες ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν *Sixth Day.* 25  
 τὴν Ἑλωρινὴν καλουμένην ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴ γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ *'The front under  
 N. by daybreak  
 reached the  
 Helorine road.'*  
 ποταμῷ τῷ Κακυπάρει, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἴοιεν  
 ἄνω διὰ μεσογείας· ἤλπιζον γὰρ καὶ *'At the K.—  
 they found a S.  
 detachment.—* 30  
 τοὺς Σικελοὺς ταύτῃ οὖς μετέπεμψαν  
 6 ἀπαντήσεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγένοντο *N., forcing his  
 way, marched  
 straight to the  
 E.'*  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἡῦρον καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 φυλακὴν τινα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀποτειχίζουσάν  
 τε καὶ ἀποσταυροῦσαν τὸν πόρον. καὶ βιασά-  
 μενοι αὐτὴν διέβησάν τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐχώρουν 35  
 αὐθις πρὸς ἄλλον ποταμόν, τὸν Ἑρινεόν· ταύτῃ  
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐκέλευον.

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι,  
 ὥς ἢ τε ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἔγνωσαν *'The S. in pur-  
 suit—overtook  
 the rear  
 division.'*  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεληλυθότας, ἐν  
 αἰτία τε οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Γύλιππον  
 εἶχον ἐκόντα ἀφείναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ κατὰ 5  
 τάχος διώκοντες, ἥ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἠσθάνοντο  
 κεχωρηκότας, καταλαμβάνουσι περὶ ἀρίστου  
 2 ὥραν. καὶ ὥς προσέμειξαν τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ  
 Δημοσθένους, ὑστέροις τε οὖσι καὶ σχολαίτερον

4. ὥσπερ] ὅσπερ Dobree.—τὸ πλεόν all but B.

5. ἑλωρινὴν CAEGM.—ἐπὶ] παρὰ all but B.

6. τε after ἀποτειχ. om. all but B.

1 2. ὥς BM; the rest ὥσπερ.—τ' οὖσι M; ἰοῦσι Kr.

καὶ ἀτακτότερον χωροῦσιν, ὥς τῆς νυκτὸς τότε 10  
 ξυνεταράχθησαν, εὐθὺς προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο,  
 καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκυκλοῦντό τε  
 ῥᾶον αὐτοὺς δίχα δὴ ὄντας καὶ ξυνήγουν ἐς ταυτό.  
 3 τὸ δὲ Νικίου στράτευμα ἀπεῖχεν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν  
 καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίου· θᾶσσόν τε γὰρ ὁ 15  
 Νικίας ἦγε, νομίζων οὐ τὸ ὑπομένειν ἐν τῷ  
 τοιούτῳ ἐκόντας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι σωτηρίαν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ ὥς τάχιστα ὑποχωρεῖν, τοσαῦτα μαχο-  
 4 μένους ὅσ' ἂν ἀναγκάζωνται. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης  
 ἐτύγχανέ τε τὰ πλείω ἐν πόνῳ ξυν- 20  
 εχεστέρῳ ὣν διὰ τὸ ὑστέρω ἀναχω-  
 ροῦντι αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους καὶ τότε γνοὺς τοὺς Συρα-  
 κοσίους διώκοντας οὐ προυχώρει  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην ξυνετάσσετο, ἕως ἐνδια- 25  
 τρίβων κυκλοῦταί τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν πολλῷ  
 θορύβῳ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [Ἀθηναῖοι]  
 ἦσαν· ἀνειληθέντες γὰρ ἔς τι χωρίου ᾧ κύκλῳ  
 μὲν τειχίον περιῆν, ὁδὸς δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν,  
 ἐλάας δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχεν, ἐβάλλοντο περι- 30  
 5 σταδόν. τοιαύταις δὲ προσβολαῖς καὶ οὐ ξυστα-  
 δὸν μάχαις οἱ Συρακόσιοι εἰκότως ἐχρῶντο· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἀποκινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπονενοη-  
 μένους οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἦν ἔτι ἢ πρὸς

3. ἐμπροσθεν M.—ὅσ' ἂν] ὅσα MSS. ; cor. Dobree.—ἀναγκάζονται all but C.

4. ἐν πόνῳ τε all but B.—ἢ ἐς μάχην ἢ ξυνετάσσετο M.—ἐν before πολλῷ om. all but B ; καὶ Hu.—[Ἀθηναῖοι] Kr.—ἐνθεν τε καὶ ἔνθεν CM, which is possible, though rarer than ἐν. καὶ ἐν.—ἐβάλλοντό τε AEFM ; ἐβαλλον τότε C.



τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἅμα φειδῶ τέ τις ἐγίγνετο 35  
 ἐπ' εὐπραγία ἥδη σαφεῖ μὴ προαναλωθῆναί τω  
 καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ὥς ταύτῃ τῇ ιδέᾳ καταδαμα-  
 2 σάμενοι λήψεσθαι αὐτούς. ἔπειδ' ὁ οὖν δι'  
 ἡμέρας βάλλοντες πανταχόθεν τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυμμάχους ἐώρων  
 ἥδη τεταλαιπωρημένους τοῖς τε  
 τραύμασι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακώσει, 5  
 κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται Γύλιππος καὶ  
 Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, πρῶτον  
 μὲν τῶν νησιωτῶν εἴ τις βούλεται ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ  
 ὥς σφᾶς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀπεχώρησάν τινες πόλεις  
 2 οὐ πολλάι. ἔπειτα δ' ὕστερον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 10  
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ὁμο-  
 λογία γίγνεται ὥστε ὅπλα τε παραδοῦναι καὶ  
 μὴ ἀποθανεῖν μηδένα μήτε βιαίως μήτε δεσμοῖς  
 3 μήτε τῆς ἀναγκαιοτάτης ἐνδείᾳ διαίτης. καὶ  
 παρέδοσαν οἱ πάντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑξακισχίλιοι, 15  
 καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὃ εἶχον ἅπαν κατέθεσαν ἐσβα-  
 λόντες ἐς ἀσπίδας ὑπτίας, καὶ ἐνέπλησαν  
 ἀσπίδας τέσσαρας. καὶ τούτους μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπε-  
 κόμιζον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Νικίας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν 20  
 ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐρινεόν, καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς μετέωρόν  
 τι καθίσσε τὴν στρατιάν.

5. τὸ τῶν Ἀ. AEFM.—ἐγένετο all but B.—καὶ ὥς] καὶ ὥς  
BCAEFG; ὥς καὶ M.

32 1. δ' οὖν] γοῦν MSS.; cor. Dobree.

2. μετὰ τοῦ Δ. M.

3. αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸν AEFM.—ἀφικνοῦνται αὐτῇ(ι) τῇ(ι) ἡ. all but  
M; τῇ αὐτῇ ἡ. Hw., Hu.—καθεῖσε CAFGM; καθεῖς E; ἐκαθεῖσε  
B.

'Perceiving  
 their condition,  
 G. sent a herald;  
 presently, a  
 larger negotia-  
 tion ended by  
 the entire di-  
 vision capitula-  
 ting.—They  
 were conveyed  
 to S.'

5

15

20

83 Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ μετὰ Δημοσθένους παραδεδώκοιεν σφᾶς αὐτούς, κελεύοντες καὶ κείνῳ τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶν· ὁ δ' ἀπιστῶν σπένδεται ἱππέα πέμψαι σκεψόμενον. ὥς δ' οἰχόμενος ἀπήγγειλε πάλιν παραδεδωκότας, ἐπικηρυκεύεται Γυλίππῳ καὶ Συρακοσίοις εἶναι ἐτοῖμος ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ξυμβῆναι, ὅσα ἀνήλωσαν χρήματα Συρακόσιοι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι, ὥστε τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς· μέχρι οὗ δ' ἂν τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοθῇ, ἄνδρας δώσειν Ἀθηναίων ὁμήρους, ἕνα κατὰ τάλαντον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Γύλιππος οὐ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ προσπесόντες καὶ περιστάντες πανταχόθεν ἔβαλλον καὶ τούτους μέχρι ὀψέ. εἶχον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πονήρως σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορία. ὁμῶς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς φυλάξαντες τὸ ἡσυχάζον ἔμελλον πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσί τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνουσι, κατέθεντο πάλιν πλὴν τριακοσίων μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν· οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τῶν φυλάκων βιασάμενοι ἐχώρουν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ ἐδύναντο.

84 Νικίας δ' ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο ἤγε τὴν στρατιάν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι προσέκειντο τὸν αὐτὸν

*Seventh Day.*

'G. overtook N. on the right bank of the Erineus.—N. could not bring himself to submit to the same terms as D.—

Accordingly the S. recommenced their attacks.'

*Eighth and last day.* 'N. attempted a fresh

1. μετὰ τοῦ Δ. M.

2. ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ M.—μέχρι δ' οὗ B ; [οὗ] Dindorf.

- τρόπον πανταχόθεν βάλλοντές τε  
 2 καὶ κατακοντίζοντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσίναρον  
 ποταμόν, ἅμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ  
 τῆς πανταχόθεν προσβολῆς ἱππέων  
 τε πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου,  
 οἴομενοι ῥᾶόν τι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἣν διαβῶσι τὸν 10  
 ποταμόν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τοῦ  
 3 πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία. ὥς δὲ γίνονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐσπίπ-  
 τουσιν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πᾶς τέ  
 τις διαβῆναι αὐτὸς πρῶτος βουλό-  
 μενος καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπικείμενοι  
 χαλεπὴν ἤδη τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιοῦν.  
 ἀθρόοι γὰρ ἀναγκαζόμενοι χωρεῖν  
 ἐπέπιπτόν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεπά-  
 τουν, περὶ τε τοῖς δορατίοις καὶ  
 σκεύεσιν οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς διεφθείροντο,  
 4 οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλασσόμενοι κατέρρεον. ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ  
 θάτερα τέ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραστάντες οἱ Συρα-  
 κόσιοι (ἦν δὲ κρημνῶδες) ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους, πίνοντάς τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀσμένους  
 καὶ ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι τῷ ποταμῷ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς 25  
 5 ταρασσομένους. οἳ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπικατα-  
 βάντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μάλιστα ἔσφαζον.  
 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς διέφθαρτο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦσσαν  
 ἐπίνετό τε ὁμοῦ τῷ πηλῷ ἡματωμένον καὶ περι-  
 5 μάχητον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς. τέλος δὲ νεκρῶν τε

march, to get to  
 the Asinarus.—  
 The march was  
 accomplished,  
 in spite of in-  
 cessant attacks  
 from the S.  
 cavalry; who  
 got to the river  
 before the A.'

'Here the  
 resolution of  
 the fugitives  
 gave way; tor-  
 mented with  
 thirst—they  
 rushed into the  
 ford all at once.  
 —The S. from  
 above poured  
 upon the  
 huddled mass  
 showers of  
 missiles.'

3. δορατίοις] φορτίοις Naber.

4. τοὺς before πολλοὺς om. M.—ἀσμένους] ἀσμένως B.

5. Πελοποννήσιοι] Συρακόσιοι Longinus περὶ ὕψους c. 38. So Naber.—ἐπίνετο ὁμοῦ C, Longinus.

πολλῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἤδη κειμένων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ  
 καὶ διεφθαρμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος  
 τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν, τοῦ δὲ  
 καί, εἴ τι διαφύγοι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων, 5  
 Νικίας Γυλίππῳ ἑαυτὸν παραδίδωσι  
 πιστεύσας μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἢ τοῖς Συρα-  
 κοσίοις· καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν χρήσασθαι  
 ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνόν τε καὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους ὃ τι βούλονται, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους στρατιώ- 10  
 2 τας παύσασθαι φονεύοντας. καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος  
 μετὰ τοῦτο ζωγρεῖν ἤδη ἐκέλευε· καὶ τοὺς τε  
 λοιποὺς ὅσους μὴ ἀπεκρύψαντο (πολλοὶ δὲ οὗτοι  
 ἐγένοντο) ξυνεκόμισαν ζῶντας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 τριακοσίους, οἳ τὴν φυλακὴν διεξῆλθον τῆς 15  
 νυκτός, πέμψαντες τοὺς διωχομένους ξυνέλαβον.  
 3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀθροισθὲν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐς τὸ  
 κοινὸν οὐ πολὺ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ διακλαπὲν πολὺ,  
 καὶ διεπλήσθη πᾶσα Σικελία αὐτῶν, ἅτε οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ὥσπερ τῶν μετὰ Δημοσθένους 20  
 4 ληφθέντων. μέρος δέ τι οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ἀπέθανε·  
 πλείστος γὰρ δὴ φόνος οὗτος καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάσ-  
 σων τῶν ἐν τῷ [Σικελικῷ] πολέμῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο.  
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις προσβολαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν  
 πορείαν συχναῖς γενομέναις οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐτεθνή- 25

85

1. χρήσθαι all but B; cf. ii. 4, 7, Andoc. i. 26 χρήσασθέ μοι  
 ὃ τι βούλεσθε, Hyperides iii. xxiii. 17 χρησάσθωσαν αὐτῷ ὃ τι  
 βούλονται, Dem. 19, 103 ἐμοὶ χρήσασθ' ὃ τι βούλεσθε. When  
 ὃ τι βούλονται and not ὃ τι ἂν βούλησθε is used, the aor. is usual  
 and more forcible.

2. μετ' αὐτοῦ M; μετὰ τοῦ AF.—ξυνεκόμισαν] ξυγκομίσας all  
 but B.

3. μετὰ τοῦ Δ. M.

4. [Σικελικῷ] Dobree.—προσβολαῖς om. CAEFM(G).



κεσαν. πολλοὶ δὲ ὅμως καὶ διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ παραντίκα, οἱ δὲ καὶ δουλεύσαντες καὶ διαδιδράσκοντες ὕστερον· τοῦ-  
 τοις δ' ἦν ἀναχώρησις ἐς Κατάνην.

'Many contrived to escape and get to Katana.'

36 Ξυναθροισθέντες δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους ἐδύναντο πλείστους καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ἀνεχώρη-  
 2 σαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἀθη-  
 ναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὁπόσους ἔλαβον κατε- 5  
 βίβασαν ἐς τὰς λιθοτομίας, ἀσφαλε-  
 στάτην εἶναι νομίσαντες τήρησιν, Νικίαν δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένη ἄκοντος  
 Γυλίππου ἀπέσφαξαν. ὁ γὰρ Γύλιπ-  
 πος καλὸν τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐνόμιζεν οἱ  
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀντι-  
 3 στρατήγους κομίσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. . ξυνέβαινε  
 δὲ τὸν μὲν πολεμιώτατον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, Δημο-  
 σθένη, διὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ Πύλῳ, τὸν δὲ διὰ  
 τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδειότατον· τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νήσου 15  
 ἄνδρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Νικίας προθυμήθη,  
 σπονδὰς πείσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσασθαι,  
 ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι. ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 ἦσαν αὐτῷ προσφιλεῖς κἀκεῖνος οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ  
 τοῦτο πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν τῷ Γυλίππῳ παρέδωκεν. 20  
 4 ἀλλὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων τινές, ὡς ἐλέγετο, οἱ μὲν  
 δείσαντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεκοινολόγηντο, μὴ

'Those who were carried to S. were placed in the stone quarries.—N., as well as D., was ordered to be put to death, much to the discontent of G.'

36 1. συναθροισθέντες all but B.—λαμβάνοντες AEFM.

2. λιθοτομίας M; συρακόσσιας m.—ἀσφαλεστάτην <ταύτην> Madvig; cf. c. 42, 4.—τοὺς ἄλλους ἀντισ. M.

3. δημοσθένην MSS.—διὰ τοῦτο om. all but B.

βασανιζόμενος διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο ταραχὴν σφίσιν ἐν  
 εὐπραγίᾳ ποιήσῃ, ἄλλοι δέ, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ  
 Κορίνθιοι, μὴ χρήμασι δὴ πείσας τινάς, ὅτι <sup>25</sup>  
 πλούσιος ἦν, ἀποδρᾷ καὶ αὐθις σφίσι νεώτερόν  
 τι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται, πείσαντες τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
 5 ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτη ἢ ὅτι  
 ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτία ἐτεθνήκει, ἥκιστα δὴ  
 ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο <sup>30</sup>  
 δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν  
 87 νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν. τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 'The miserable prisoners—without the  
 smallest protection or convenience—re-  
 mained for 70 days.—Many speedily died.'  
 λιθοτομίαις οἱ Συρακόσιοι χαλεπῶς  
 τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους μετεχείρισαν.  
 ἐν γὰρ κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ὄντας καὶ ὀλίγῳ  
 πολλοὺς οἳ τε ἥλιοι τὸ πρῶτον καὶ <sup>5</sup>  
 τὸ πνίγος ἔτι ἐλύπει διὰ τὸ ἀστέ-  
 γαστον, καὶ αἱ νύκτες ἐπιγιγνόμεναι τοῦναντίον  
 μετοπωριναὶ καὶ ψυχραὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἐς ἀσθέ-  
 2 νειαν ἐνεωτέριζον, πάντα τε ποιούντων αὐτῶν διὰ  
 στενοχωρίαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι τῶν νεκρῶν <sup>10</sup>  
 ὁμοῦ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ξυννενημένων, οἳ ἔκ τε τῶν  
 τραυμάτων καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦ-  
 του ἀπέθνησκον, καὶ ὁσμαι ἦσαν οὐκ ἀνεκτοί,  
 καὶ λιμῷ ἅμα καὶ δίψῃ ἐπιέζοντο (ἐδίδοσαν γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ μῆνας κοτύλην ὕδατος <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ δύο κοτύλας σίτου), ἄλλα τε ὅσα εἰκὸς ἐν  
 τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ ἐμπεπτωκότας κακοπαθῆσαι,

4. δὴ om. all but B.—πείσαντες τε all but B.

5. πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν B Schol. ; rest om.

87

1. καὶ ὀλίγῳ om. all but B.

2. ξυννενηγεμένων BM.—τοιοῦτο AEFGM.—δίψει MSS.—τῷ  
 before τοιούτῳ om. all but B.

3 οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπεγένετο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἡμέρας  
 μὲν ἐβδομήκοντά τινες οὕτω διητήθησαν ἀθρόοι·  
 ἔπειτα πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινες Σικελιωτῶν 20  
 ἢ Ἰταλιωτῶν ξυνεστράτευσαν, τοὺς  
 4 ἄλλους ἀπέδοντο. ἐλήφθησαν δὲ οἱ  
 ξύμπαντες, ἀκριβεῖα μὲν χαλεπὸν  
 ἐξειπεῖν, ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους  
 5 ἐπτακισχιλίων. ξυνέβη τε ἔργον  
 τοῦτο [Ἑλληνικὸν] τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
 πόλεμον τόνδε μέγιστον γενέσθαι,  
 δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὦν ἀκοῇ Ἑλ-  
 ληνικῶν ἴσμεν, καὶ τοῖς τε κρατήσασι λαμπρό-  
 6 τατον καὶ τοῖς διαφθαρεῖσι δυστυχέστατον· κατὰ 30  
 πάντα γὰρ πάντως νικηθέντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὀλίγον  
 ἐς οὐδὲν κακοπαθήσαντες πανωλεθρία δὴ τὸ  
 λεγόμενον καὶ πεζὸς καὶ νῆες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ  
 ἀπώλετο, καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἴκου  
 ἀπενόστησαν. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Σικελίαν 35  
 γενόμενα.

3. οἱ ἀθρόοι M.

5. [Ἑλληνικὸν] Kr., Cl., Sta., Hu. etc.

'The citizens  
 now removed  
 all the surviving  
 prisoners, ex-  
 cept the A. and  
 the few Italian  
 or Sicilian  
 Greeks. Those  
 removed were 25  
 sold.—Such was  
 the close.—  
 Never in Grecian  
 history had ruin  
 so complete been  
 witnessed.'





## NOTES

§ 1 l. 1. 'Ο—the art. added because this is a continuation of the narrative from vi. 104. Contrast c. 2, 1, where the art. is omitted because there is a transition to new points.

**Γύλιππος**—son of Cleandridas, who had settled at Thurii, on which see c. 33, 6 note. His appointment to command in Sicily was the immediate result of Alcibiades' advice. Nothing is known of his previous history. ('His character is in some points not Spartan. He is quick, enterprising, full of resource, able to adapt himself to all men and to all circumstances,' Freeman. This character reminds us of the description which Pericles gave of the Athenians.)

ὁ—the art. again because the persons are thought of separately. Contrast c. 80, 1 τῷ Ν. καὶ Δ. ἐδόκει.

**Πυθὴν**—Corinthian captain. Syr. envoys had gone to Corinth in the winter of 415, and Corinth had at once resolved to assist her colony.

τοῦ Τ.—Τ. has been all genders. In Attic it is masc., on the analogy of all nouns in -ας; in Alexandrine writers it became fem.; the Romans made it neut.

**Τάραντος**—Gyl. had been driven by foul weather to seek shelter there. Τ.—*regnata Laconi rura Phalanto*—was founded circ. 705 B.C. after the first Messenian war.

2. ἐπεσκεύασαν—vi. 104 τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν. Diod. xiii. 1 τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύασαν . . . τριήρεις κατεσκεύασαν . . . τοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου. To the Latin sense of *apparatus* παρασκευὴ corresponds; while κατασκευὴ has the English sense of the same word.

3. **Λοκροῦς**—founded about 690 B.C. on land belonging to the Sicels. Now Gerace.

5. ἤδη—they had received several false reports that Syr. was entirely shut in.

7. **κατὰ τὰς Ἐ.**—*viz*: cf. II. 76, 4 *κατὰ χῶμα προσάγων*. Epiripolae includes all the high ground west of Achradina which was not inclosed in the fortifications of the city.

8. **στρατιᾷ**—dat. of accompaniment, only used in naval and military expressions.

**ἐβουλεύοντο**—because before they had supposed that the only chance of getting into Syr. was by eluding the A. fleet.

9. **ἐν δεξιᾷ λαβόντες**—except here Thuc. always uses *ἔχειν ἐν δ.*, *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*.

10. **διακινδυνεύσωσιν**—so II. 4 *ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσονται*. Thuc. does not use *πότερον* . . ἢ. He uses *πότερον* twice, viz. I. 80 *πῶς χρή . . ἐπειχθῆναι; πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν;* and VI. 38 *τί καὶ βούλεσθε; πότερον ἄρχειν;* In both cases *ἀλλὰ* follows (*ὑποφορά*), as in Andoc. I. 148 *τίνα γὰρ ἀναβιβάσωμαι; τὸν πατέρα; ἀλλὰ τέθνηκεν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδελφούς; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν.*

**διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐσπλεύσαι**—of the compounds of *κινδυνεύω*, *ἀνα-*, *ἀπο-*, *δια-*, *παρα-* are found with infin.; *ἐπι-*, *προ-*, *συγ-* are not.

11. **Ἱμέραν**—founded 646 B.C. from Zancle, to be a stronghold against Phoenician Panormus. It was destroyed for ever by the Carthaginians in 408.

12. **αὐτοὺς**—τοὺς *Ἱμεραίους*, the name of the people implied in the name of their city, as constantly.

13. **οὓς**—after the collective *στρατιάν*.

§ 2 l. 14. **καὶ ἔδοξεν**—cf. VIII. 8 *ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον πλεῖν αὐτοῖς*.

16. **ὅμως**—in spite of his previous indifference; VI. 104 *ὑπερεῖδε τὸ πλῆθος . . . καὶ οὐδεμίαν φυλακὴν πω ἐποιεῖτο*.

**ὥς . . . ἀπέστειλε**—aor. for plup. in dependent clause, as constantly.

**πυνθάνομενος . . . εἶναι**—generally *πυνθάνομαι* and *αἰσθάνομαι* take the partic.

18. **φυλακὴν**—concrete, as in *φυλακὰς καθίστασθαι* II. 24.

**περαιοῦνται διὰ**—cf. I. 107 *διὰ τοῦ κόλπου περαιοῦσθαι*. The accus. is the ordinary constr.

**τοῦ πορθμοῦ**—IV. 24 *ἔστι δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἡ μεταξὺ Ῥηγίου θάλασσα καὶ Μεσσήνης*.

19. **σχόντες Ῥηγίῳ**—*σχεῖν* is also constructed with *ἐς* and *κατά*. (Bekker *Anecd.* I. 173 *σχών, δοτικῇ· Θουκυδίδης ἐβδόμῳ*.)

**Μεσσήνη**—its older name was Zancle, from Sicel Danklon, a reaping-hook, = *ἀγκών*.

§ 3 l. 20. **τούς τε Ἱμεραίους**—co-ordinate with *καὶ τοὺς Σελιουντίους ἐκέλευον*.

21. **καὶ αὐτοὺς**—the *καὶ* is *explanetic*, introducing the explanation of *ξυμπολεμεῖν*.

25. ἀνείλκυσαν—so that the oarsmen were available as infantry.

τοὺς Σ. πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον—observe (1) that when a partic. and verb apply to a common object, the object follows the constr. required by the partic. ; (2) that πέμπω is a regular exception to this rule in such phrases as κήρυκα, πρέσβεις, ἀποίκους, πέμψαντες, as they are so frequently used absolutely that the object is generally not accommodated to the partic. at all : cf. II. 27 τὴν Αἴγιναν πέμψαντες ἐποίκους ἔχειν : VIII. 40 Ἀστυόχον πέμψαντες ἐκέλευον. Contrast c. 3 μέρος τι πέμψας πρὸς τὸ φρούριον αἰρεῖ : c. 85 ἐπὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους πέμψαντες ξυνέλαβον.

πανστρατιᾷ—Selinus only sent ψιλούς τινας καὶ ἱππέας (§ 5), as it was at war with Segesta. (Thuc. is fond of thus contrasting great projects with meagre performances. Cf. II. 93.)

27. χωρίον—meanings (1) a strategical position, (2) a farm.

§ 4 l. 28. Σικελῶν τινες—the S. were a Latin tribe, and were driven from Latium into Bruttium, whence they were again driven over to Sicily by the Opicans.

29. προσχωρεῖν—the greater part of the S. had supported the Athenians through enmity with Syracuse since 451 B.C., when the Sicel leader Ducetius had defeated the combined forces of Acragas and Syracuse.

30. Ἀρχωνίδου—he had aided Ducetius in founding Calacte on the N. coast of Sicily. When D. died in 440, Syracuse feared that A. would revive the power of the Sicels, and so made war on them.

31. ταύτη—i.e. those of Northern Sicily.

32. τινῶν—A. was prince of Herbita, and his territory, or at least his influence, probably extended to Calacte on the north coast.

34. ἐκ Λακ. . . ἤκειν—here ἤκω expresses ‘come duly to their assistance,’ as in βοήθεια ἤξει III. 4 ; c. 16 ; ὠφελία ἤξει VI. 93. Cf. VI. 73 ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ὅπως ξυμμαχία αὐτοῖς παραγένηται. The word ἤκω is constantly so used in drama, esp. in addressing persons who have come to bring help.

προθύμως—cf. VI. 18 π. παραγίγνεσθαι, and c. 66 and 70 π. ἀντιλαβέσθαι.

§ 5 l. 35. καὶ—‘and so,’ giving the result, as often.

36. σφετέρων—ἐαυτοῦ would be more correct here and in c. 3, 4 ; but the whole side is meant.

41. ἐς χιλίους—direct object of ἀναλαβόν. A prep. and its case may stand for subj. or obj. of a verb.

42. τοὺς πάντας—πᾶς preceded by the art. gives the sum total. Cf. II. 7 ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμόν. (The Sicels were always a number of isolated atoms except only when united under Ducetius and to some extent under Archonides.)

2 § 1 l. 1. **Λευκάδος**—Gylippus and Pythen had left the Cor. here with fifteen ships, and had sailed out with four, hoping to prevent Italy from joining Athens, but despairing of Sicily.

2. **ὥς εἶχον τάχους**—cf. c. 57 ὥς ἕκαστοι τῆς ξυτυχίας ἔσχον. vi. 97 ὥς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχε. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 53 *ut quisque audentiae habuisset accurrerunt* is a conscious imitation of this. Xen. *Hell.* 4, 5, 15 ὥς τάχους ἔ. εἶχε. Herod. vi. 116 ὥς ποδῶν εἶχον.

5. **ἀφικνεῖται**—having entered by the Little Harbour (called Laccius), eluding the A. fleet which commanded the Great Harbour.

8. **μέλλοντας ἐκκλησιάσειν**—there is no evidence to prove that ‘it was the very day,’ as Freeman says, ‘which had been fixed for the discussion.’ Thuc. only says that they *intended* to discuss the question of peace.

12. **Λακ. ἀποστειλάντων**—Krüger notes that the gen. abs. is often thus placed qualifying a verb. Cf. v. 4 *τρίτος αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίων πεμπόντων ἐξέπλευσε*.

§ 2 l. 16. **ἡσθάνοντο**—by message from him.

§ 3 l. 16. **Ἰετὰς**—Steph. Byz. says Philistus referred to it as *φρούριον Σικελίας*; but it is quite unknown.

**τότε**—Classen refers this to ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ, but as Thuc. never uses τότε with reference to the period implied in a temporal expression, Poppe rightly refers it to οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐξῆλθον.

**τείχος . . . τῶν Σικελῶν**—the perversion of the natural order adds emphasis to τῶν Σικελῶν. Cf. ii. 5, 5 ἐν σπονδαῖς σφῶν πειραθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, where σφῶν belongs to τὴν πόλιν. Cf. on c. 17, 3, 4, and 18, 1.

**ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ**—So i. 126; cf. ἐν ὁδῷ εἶναι, ‘to be on the road.’

17. **ἐλὼν, καὶ ξυν.**—when two partic. are joined by καί, the action of the one generally precedes that of the other in time, or gives the cause of it. The former may be the case here. (Hw. and Sta. bracket καί.)

19. **Εὐρύηλον**—it is strange enough that the Syr. should not have established an outpost on the point of the ‘Broad Nail’ in the winter of 415 when the fortifications were extended; but still stranger that G. should have found Euryelus now undefended by the Athenians.

20. **μετὰ τῶν Σ.**, they had joined him by marching through the open space north of the A. lines.

§ 4 l. 21. **ἔτυχε . . . ἐλθὼν**—with the aor. of τυγχάνω, φθάνω, λανθάνω the aor. partic. expresses time not antecedent to, but coincident with the time of the verb. To express time antecedent to the time of these verbs, either (1) the pres. or imperf.



of these verbs must be used, or (2) if the aor. is used, the perf. partic. is necessary. Cf. on c. 4, 3.

22. **κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ**—cf. c. 69 ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῦ καιροῦ; c. 33 ἐν τούτῳ τύχης. Cf. also the idiom εἰς τοῦτο (τοσοῦτο) ἐλθεῖν (ἀφικέσθαι, ἡκείν) with gen.; *id temporis*; *eo (furoris) venire*. (Phrynichus says that the noun of *time* requires the art., but 'no such rule was known to Attic authors, the art. being employed or omitted according to the whim of the writer or as the meaning required.' Rutherford.)

23. **ἐπτά . . . ἡ ὀκτώ**—it would be about seven to the fort on the κρημνός, about eight to the κύκλος, as far as the building was then completed. ('Those who think that the κύκλος was further north, and that the wall between it and the κρημνός was double—Classen, Holm, Lupus, Müller—are forced to bracket ἐπτά . . . σταδίων, as the length of the double wall must then be considerably greater. See Intr. p. xii.)

**μὲν**—answered by τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ. The double wall, as nearly completed, is contrasted with the northern wall, very incomplete. (Fr. Müller and Oeltze *de particularum μὲν et δέ usu* Halle '87 place μὲν between ἐς and τὸν below.)

**σταδίων**—gen. of measure; cf. II. 13 τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων. The position of the gen. is due to the antithesis, which often causes a disturbance of the natural order. See on c. 17, 3.

**ἀπετετέλεστο**—on the question whether Thuc. here neglects to take account of the wall between the κύκλος and the κρημνός, see Intr. p. xiii.

24. **ἐς τὸν . . . λιμένα**—it crossed three levels, (1) a short portion of Epipolae, (2) τὸ ὀμαλόν, the level just below the κρημνός, (3) τὸ ἔλος, the marshy ground about Lysimeleia.

25. **διπλοῦν**—'*contra exteriorem etiam hostem*,' Justus Lipsius. Cf. Lucian *Ver. hist.* i. 19. Endymion the king of the moon made war on Phaethon k. of the sun, because the latter had prevented Endymion from colonising Hesperus. The Nephelocentaurs in Phaethon's service build a wall ὥστε μηκέτι τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην διήκειν. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν διπλοῦν, ὥστε σαφὴς ἔκλειψις τῆς σελήνης ἐγεγόνει. This produced peace.

26. **τὸ πρὸς τὴν θ.**—epexegetic of τι. Cf. VIII. 21 ἐς διακόσιους τινὰς τοὺς πάντας.

27. **τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ <ἄνω> τοῦ κ.**—'the remainder of the wall north of the fort'; the same as τὸ πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ κύκλου τεῖχος in VI. 99. Cf. Herod. i. 72 of the course of the Halys ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην. (So in VI. 99 κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου = south of the κ., as Sitzler explains. Without ἄνω there are two ways of taking the text: (1) τῷ ἄλλῳ = ἐτέρῳθι 'on the other side of,'

of which meaning there is no example ; or (2) making πρὸς τὸν Τρώγιλον govern τοῦ κύκλου 'for the rest of the wall on the Trogilus side of the κ.,' but, from the analogy of other prepositional phrases, it is clear that even so τοῦ κύκλου must be 'partitive'; cf. iv. 108, 1 τὰ (τοῦ ποταμοῦ) πρὸς Ἰλιόνα ; iv. 5 τοῦ χωρίου τὸ πρὸς ἡπειρον. This would necessitate taking κύκλος here to mean the whole circumference of the walls, as in ii. 13 ; but κ. 'must mean a central point between the two pieces of wall spoken of,' as it clearly does in all the other passages—vi. 98, 99, 101, 102.)

30. ἔστιν ἃ . . . τὰ δὲ—for τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ . . .

καὶ ἡμέτερα . . . καὶ ἐξεργασμένα—the first καὶ marks the antithesis between τῷ πλεονί and ἔστιν ἃ, the second that between ἔστιν ἃ and τὰ δέ.

31. παρὰ τοσοῦτον—cf. viii. 33 παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετ' αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, and παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Herod. ix. 33.

32. μὲν—in transition, as often, like μὲν δὴ ; ii. 4 οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ; iii. 24.

3 § 1 l. 1. αἰφνιδίως—Thuc. uses ἄφνω, αἰφνιδίως, ἐξαίφνης, and, in the earlier books, ἐξαπίνης and ἐξαπινάϊως. The last two are Ionic.

2. σφίσιν—indirect reflexive, not referring to the subj. of its own clause, but to that of the main clause. Hence σφεῖς is regularly used only in subord. sentences. But (1) Thuc. sometimes uses σφᾶς like Ionic writers, for σφᾶς αὐτοὺς or ἐαυτούς, as ii. 65 αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσιν . . . ἐσφάλησαν. (2) He uses ἐαυτῶν, like Attic writers, for σφῶν or σφετέρας, as ii. 7 οἱ Λακ. πόλεις ξυμμαχίδας ποιοῦμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεως, where ἐαυτῶν refers to Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

ἐπιόντων—as Thuc. has given no hint that Gyl. had as yet passed the Athenian lines, and as the Syr. had gone out to meet him, we may assume that he was still on the west side of the lines.

3. ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν . . . παρετάξαντο δέ—sharp antithesis, as iii. 101 ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἡκολούθουν δὲ οὐ.

4. θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα—lit. 'having grounded arms,' 'taken up a position,' *cum constitisset*.

5. ἐγγὺς—apparently in the plain, before the διπλοῦν τεῖχος.

προσπέμπει—in this use of πέμπω the historic pres. is commoner than the aor. If the negotiation is elaborate, the imperf. is used.

6. λέγοντα—contrast ii. 85 πέμπουσι ξυμβούλους κελεύοντες. The nom. and accus. are both used. Cf. iii. 52 προσπέμπει αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα. (Meineke and Hw. λέγων or λέγοντα. Kr. thinks λέγοντα may be spurious.)

εἰ βούλονται—formal expression in proposing terms ; *c.g.* IV. 37 ἐκήρυξαν εἰ βούλονται τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι.

7. ἡμερῶν—any time within the period, like *νυκτός, ἡμέρας*.

8. ἐτοῖμος—as though λέγων had preceded. Cf. v. 41 οὐκ ἐόντων μεμνήσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι, ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι ; VIII. 48, 6.

§ 2 l. 9. ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ποιεῖσθαι—*sc.* αὐτά, the proceeding, as in IV. 5 ἐορτὴν ἔτυχον ἄγοντες καὶ ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ἐποιοῦντο. Cf. ἐν with ἔχω, τίθεσθαι, εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι, as I. 35 ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται ; Aesch. P. V. 239 ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος ; ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν, etc.

10. οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι—Plutarch says the soldiers asked whether the coming of a single Spartan had so emboldened them. Cf. Isocr. *Archid.* 52 ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι εἰ πολιορκουμένην τινὶ τῶν πόλεων εἰς μόνος Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθήσειεν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὁμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς.

12. ἀλλήλοις—added to show that the subj. is no longer οἱ δέ.

§ 3 l. 14. ἐπ' ἀπὸ πύργου—*i.e.* further westwards, away from the Athenian lines, and in the review ground west of Lysineleia. Gyl. had apparently not yet entered Syr. (The edd. say *eastwards*, and assume that Gyl. had passed between the Athenian lines and the walls of Syr. As Freeman says, such *εὐρυχωρία* could have been found only to the west of the A. wall. But he too thinks that Gyl. had been east of the lines till now, and had to march out round the north of the lines, not venturing to meet the A. in the narrow space between their fort and the city walls. Diodorus says nothing ; but Plutarch *Nic.* 19 has προσῆγεν εὐθύς ὁ Γύλιππος ἐξ ὁδοῦ παρατεταγμένος.)

15. μᾶλλον—with τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν 'the more open ground.' Cf. III. 107 ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον.

16. ἡσυχάζει—the opposite of πολεμῶ, and so means to abstain from acts of hostility. Cf. c. 12, 1.

17. ἐαυτῶν—*plur.*, as in c. 1, 5.

τείχει—*i.e.* τὸ διπλοῦν τ.

ὥς . . ἔγνων—ὅτε is used when two acts are represented as simultaneous ; ἐπειδὴ when the act of its verb precedes that of the main verb ; ὥς when no connection between the time of the two acts is expressed.

18. ἀπήγαγε—by marching round the northern extremity of the Athenian lines.

19. Τεμενίτιν—it had been taken into the city and fortified in the preceding winter.

§ 4 l. 22. ὅπως—by far the commonest final particle in Thuc., and rather commoner than ἵνα in Xen. In all other authors ἵνα very greatly predominates. (See table in *M.T.* p. 398.)

ἄλλοσε—esp. to Labdalum.

23. πέμψας—back by the way by which he had come.

τὸ φρούριον—as Gyl. intended to build his cross-wall along the north of Epipolae, it was necessary first to get possession of Labdalum.

τὸ Λάβδαλον—in III. 97 the name means the neighbourhood so called, but here it is the fort built there. Nicias had made no use of L., and did not even keep up proper communications with it. After Gyl. had passed it, it should have been abandoned.

24. αἶρεῖ καὶ . . . ἀπέκτεινεν—cf. II. 67 ξιλλαμβάνει . . . καὶ ἐκέλευσεν; *ib.* 69 ἀποθνήσκει . . . καὶ διέφθειρε.

25. οὐκ ἐπιφανές—because the ridge on which the fort stood was lower than the centre of Epipolae.

§ 5 l. 27. τριήρης . . . ἀλίσκεται—an event of importance, as this was the first Syracusan success at sea. The Syr. were beginning to think of regaining control of the Great Harbour which they had lost since the A. fleet sailed thither from Thapsus.

29. ἐφορμούσα—sent out from the A. fleet to the mouth of the Harbour.

4 § 1 l. 1. ἐτείχιζον—his ‘main object now is to hinder them from carrying their north wall to the edge of the cliff, and down to the water on that side. A wall running east and west was to be built.’ Freeman. This is the *third* Syr. counterwork.

2. διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν . . . ἐγκάρσιον—four expressions are here given in order to fix the direction: (1) διὰ τῶν Ἐ. shows that the wall was to run along E.: (2) ἀπὸ τῆς π. ἀρξάμενοι shows that it was to run from east to west: (3) ἄνω ‘north of the κύκλος,’ as VI. 99 κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου ‘south of’ it; cf. on c. 2, 4; (4) πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον ‘at an angle’ to the north wall of the A. (The meaning of ἄνω is much disputed: (a) Freeman says it means that ‘the wall was carried westwards, up the slope,’ with which the note in Jowett agrees. So Stahl. In this case ἄνω adds nothing new, but—as often—only gives the general direction which is further defined by the words following it—viz. πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον; (b) Classen renders ‘along the northern height’ and Fr. Müller ‘north of the κύκλος,’ which is much the same thing. This is better, because (1) it enables us to give the same meaning throughout the description to ἄνω, viz. ‘north’ (cf. c. 4, 3) of the place specified; (2) if ἄνω does not mean ‘north,’ there is nothing to show on which side of the κύκλος the new wall ran. This can indeed be *inferred* from what follows, but in the case of the other counterworks Thuc. states clearly that the one was κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου, the other διὰ τοῦ ἔλους; (3) ἄνω thus gives a new indication of direction and does not merely repeat the other expressions.)



4. **πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον**—adverbial, ‘cross-wise’: with prepositional phrases used adverbially the article is rarely found.

5. **ὅπως . . . εἰ μὴ δύναιντο . . . μηκέτι οἱόι τε ᾧσιν**—when *ἐάν* and subj. is changed into *εἰ* and opt., the subj. in a final clause is regularly changed into opt.; the only exceptions in Thuc. are this passage and IV. 120 *ὅπως, εἰ . . . περιτυγχάνοι, ἡ τριήρης ἀμύνῃ* (v. l. *ἀμύνοι*).

7. **ἀποτειχίσαι**—‘to invest the city,’ by completing the northern wall.

§ 2 l. 7. **οὔτε Ἀ. ἀνεβεβήκεσαν . . . καὶ ὁ Γ. . . ἐπήει**—cf. II. 59 *ἡ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἐτέμνητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο*. The A. had lately (*ἤδη*) gone up when Gyl. made his attack; *τε . . . καὶ* are paratactic and describe nearly simultaneous events.

8. **τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσση**—i.e. they had finished the small piece referred to in c. 2, 4. Thuc. always writes *ἐπὶ θαλάσση*, and so the orators unless some particular sea is referred to, as Demosth. VI. 12 *τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ θ. ἀρχῆς*.

10. **ἦν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**—cf. c. 48 *καὶ (ἦν γὰρ τι . . . ; I. 137 καὶ (ἦν γὰρ ἀγνώσ. . .*

**τείχους**—the northern wall.

§ 3 l. 12. **ἔτυχον . . αὐλιζόμενοι**—imperf. partic. of prolonged action; the A. were bivouacking by chance outside their fortress, on the east side. *ἐτύχανον αὐλισάμενοι* would mean ‘they had bivouacked by chance.’ Cf. on c. 2, 4.

13. **ὥς ἥσθοντο**—the regular periphrasis for *αἰσθόμενοι* when the partic. would be inelegant.

14. **σφετέρους**—after *ὁ*. See on c. 1, 5.

**πάλιν**—is placed after the verb when not emphatic. It is esp. common after *ἀπάγειν* and *ἀναχωρεῖν*.

15. **ὑψηλότερον**—pred.; cf. II. 75 *ἤρετο μέγα*.

16. **ἄλλους**—exclusive; cf. c. 61, 1.

18. **ἐκαστοι**—this word is frequently put into the relative clause, like *quisque*, instead of in the principal clause.

§ 4 l. 19. **τὸ Πλημμύριον**—‘the A. fleet was now . . . in the north-western corner of the harbour, near the swamp of Lysimeleia. . . Now that the Syr. were beginning to stir by sea, such a position gave them no command of the harbour in general. . . Everything now had to come by sea, at a great disadvantage, as long as the A. had no command of the mouth of the harbour. . . N. therefore determined to occupy Plemmyrion.’—Freeman.

20. **ἀντιπέρασ**—the view from it takes in the whole extent of Ortygia and Achradina.

23. **ῥᾶον**—*ῥᾶων* would be expected; but *ἡ ἐσκομιδὴ ἔσται* is treated as passive of *τὴν ἐσκομιδὴν ποιήσομαι*, so that *ἔσται*

would more naturally be *γενήσεται*, as in II. 18 *χαλεπῶς ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο*. Cf. c. 28, 1 (*γίγνεται* and *ἐστὶ* are frequently qualified by an adv. in such phrases as *κακῶς γίγνεται* = *it turns out badly for*; so that *ῥᾶον* here is not opposed to Gk. idiom.)

24. *δι' ἐλάσσονος*—local, as in *δι' ὀλίγου* 36, 5; at a shorter distance from the Syracusan fleet.

25. *πρὸς τῷ λιμένι*—cf. VIII. 94 *τοῦ πολέμου . . . πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος*, of a battle close to Piræus. The phrase means 'near the mouth of the harbour.' The fleet would now be drawn up just inside the harbour, and there would be less danger of disasters like that related in c. 3, 5 when provisions were to be brought in.

27. *ἐκ μυχοῦ*—the north-western corner, close to the point at which the double wall touched the harbour.

*τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς*—putting out against an enemy; *ἐπαγωγή*, conveyance of provisions, as c. 24.

28. *ποιήσεσθαι*—see index, s. γ. *ποιεῖσθαι*.

*ἦν τι . . . κινῶνται*—the full sentence is *εἰ τειχισθείη, ἐφαίνετο οὐκ . . . ποιήσεσθαι, ἦν τι ναυτικῷ κ.*; hence there are two protases, both of which, in the *recta*, are subj. with *ἦν*. In these cases, the first protasis is the principal condition, the second the subordinate. Cf. Andoc. I. 149 *ἐὰν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πεισθῇτε, οὐδ' ἂν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ὑμῖν μεταμελήσῃ, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλεον ποιήσετε*.

*κινῶνται*—(1) sc. *οἱ Συρακόσιοι*. Thuc. changes the subject more rapidly than we should do. Cf. II. 3 *ὅπως μὴ προσφέρωνται (οἱ Πλαταιῆς) καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίνωνται (οἱ Θηβαῖοι)*; (2) passive voice, as usual with verbs used reflexively, the purely reflexive use of the mid. being quite rare. Cf. v. 8 *ὥς εἶδε κινουμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*.

*προσεῖχέ τε*—'in fact he was now disposed to give more attention to naval warfare.'

30. *ἐπειδὴ*—in *temporal* sentences where the indic. was used in the *Recta*, it is always retained in the *Obliqua*.

*ἦκεν*—cf. c. 1, 4.

§ 5 l. 31. *στρατιᾶν*—'troops'; the greater part of the army was still encamped along the walls.

32. *φρούρια*—'N. built three forts, a greater and two smaller. . . . The new station, standing apart from the constant fighting which went on around the walls on Epipolæ, was thought to be a safer resting-place for provisions and stuff generally.'—Freeman.

33. *σκεύη*—'stores'; cf. c. 24, 2.

*ἔκειτο*—Thuc. always uses the simple verb instead of *ἀπόκειμαι* in this sense.

34. τὰ μεγάλα—*i.e.* transports.

§ 6 l. 35. ὥστε—*quamobrem*. In Homer ὥστε is used only in a *comparative* and *causal* sense. In tragedy, when used with the indic. (not found in Aesch.), ὥστε nearly always = *quamobrem*, and this use is common in Thuc., as II. 87, and other prose authors.

πληρωμάτων—one of the many nouns in -μα which is used in a concrete sense, of persons. They are esp. common in tragedy, as δούλευμα, slave, πτώμα, fallen body.

36. κάκωσις ἐγένετο—pass. of κάκωσιν ποιῆσθαι. Thuc. is esp. fond of abstract nouns in -σις, as δήλωσις, ὀλόφυρσις, ξύλωσις, and probably coined some himself.

37. χρώμενοι—causal, joined to ὅποτε ἐξέλθοιεν. Such juxtaposition of dissimilar expressions is far commoner in Thuc. than in other authors. Tacitus imitates the mannerism.

ἐγγύθεν—adv. joined to adj. σπανίῳ, as VIII. 48 ἄκριτοι καὶ βιαϊότερον ἀποθνήσκειν, and often.

38. ἐπὶ φρυγ. . . ἐξέλθοιεν—ἐπὶ with accus. after verbs of motion corresponds to the supine in -um.

39. τῶν ἱππέων—having gone round the west end of Epipolae.

42. Συρακοσίοις—as the subject, μέρος ἱππέων, of the pluperf. pas. is *personal*, the dat. is *ethic* rather than dat. of the agent. Contrast ταῦτα πέπρακται μοι. (When the subject of the perf. pas. is *personal*, the agent is regularly expressed by ὑπό.)

43. ἵνα μὴ . . ἐξίοιεν—exegetic of διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Π., as in I. 99 διὰ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὦσι.

44. Ὀλυμπίῳ—this includes (a) the τέμενος of the god, (b) the adjacent land. There are still two gaunt pillars of the temple standing.

45. πολίχνη—later this was turned into a proper name.

ἐτετάχατο—cf. ἀφίκατο c. 75. The termination is Ionic, but is occasionally found in other Attic prose writers; *e.g.* Xen. *Anab.* IV. 8, 5 ἀντιτετάχαται. (Moeris wrongly says ἐτετάχατο Ἀττικῶς· τεταγμένοι ἦσαν Ἑλληνικῶς.)

§ 7 l. 48. εἶρητο—regular word of military instructions.

50. ναυλοχεῖν αὐτάς—'to lie in wait for them.'

§ 1 l. 3. προπαρεβάλλοντο—'had previously laid in a line for use,' *i.e.* for the wall from the circle to Trogilus.

σφίσιν—for σφίσιν αὐτοῖς or ἐαυτοῖς. Cf. on c. 3, 1. Thuc. often uses σφᾶς thus as a primary reflexive, referring to the subj. of its own clause; but not when the reflexive is emphatic or in antithesis.

4. τοῦ τεχίσματος—the cross-wall which he was building.

§ 2 l. 7. ἦρχε—'was first to' )( ἤρχετο 'began to.'

9. **τειχισμάτων**—the incomplete Athenian wall and the Syracusan cross-wall.

10. **χρήσις ἦν**—another case of simple abstract nouns (esp. in **-σις** and **-μα**) with **εἶμι**, **γίγνομαι**. Cf. c. 4, 6; 16, 2.

§ 3 l. 15. **οὐκ ἔφη . . ἐκείνων ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ**—the general principle in Gk. antithesis is that the more emphatic clause comes second. (The rule might be broken in the case of **ἔφη**, to get the neg. before it.)

16. **ἀμάρτημα**—to add to the disaster Gongylus had fallen; so Plutarch relates.

18. **τῇ τάξει**—explained by **ἐντὸς . . ποιήσας**, and causal.

19. **ἐντὸς**—i.e. **μεταξὺ τῶν τειχισμάτων**.

**ποιήσας**—sc. **τὴν τάξιν**. The usual phrase is **ἐντὸς ποιεῖσθαι**. The act. is used because he actually drew up (constructed) the line of battle. Contrast **ξύλλογον ποιεῖν**, of a **στρατηγός**, with **ξύλλογον ποιεῖσθαι**, of the men attending.

§ 4 l. 21. **διανοεῖσθαι οὕτως**—‘to convince themselves that they would find their resources ample, and that they would be guilty of intolerable lack of determination unless.’

22. **τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ** )( **τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ**, the material contrasted with the moral resources. A common antithesis, which we should not make so prominent. **γνώμη** goes with **ἀξιώσουσι**.

23. **εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι**—‘unless they mean to bind themselves.’

24. **Πελοποννήσιοι . . Δωριῆς, Ἴωνων . . νησιωτῶν**—chiasmus. **Πελοποννήσιοι** is addressed to the Syracusans by their allies, thus reminding them of the origin of which they were very proud. Cf. Theocritus 15, 90 **Συρακοσῖαις ἐπιτάσσεις**; | **ὥς εἰδῆς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμὲς ἄνθρωποι**, | **ὥς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν** · **Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες** · | **δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξοστι δοκῶ τοῖς Δωριέεσσι**. The Athenians, on the contrary, did not at all care for the title ‘Ionians.’

25. **νησιωτῶν**—the Syracusans regarded themselves as **ἡπειρώται**. Cf. c. 21.

**συγκλύδων**—cf. Livy 22, 43 *milites mixtos ex conlunione omnium gentium*. The word is rare in Attic, but is common in late authors. (Cf. Photius **συγκλύδων** · **συμμίκτων**, **ἐπηλύδων**.)

**κρατήσαντες ἐξέλασασθαι**—when partic. and verb govern a different case, a common object will nearly always follow the construction required by the partic.

26. **ἐξέλασασθαι**—the mid., which is unusual, is found also in iv. 35.

6 § 1 l. 3. **εἰ . . μὴ ἐθέλοιεν . . εἶναι**—the *Recta* would be **ἐὰν μὴ ἐθέλωσι . . ἐστι**, but **ἐὰν** is future, not iterative. ‘Even if the enemy should hesitate.’



ἐκείνοι—used of ‘the enemy,’ as often ; sometimes even when a different pronoun is required by strict grammar.

5. περιορᾶν παροικοδομούμενον—the pres. partic. because the details of the building operation are thought of.

9. ταῦτόν ἤδη ἐποίει—‘it would probably come to the same thing whether they fought a series of battles with unbroken success, or did not fight at all.’ τε . . καὶ are *alternative*, as often, and the infins. form the subject to ταῦτόν ἐποίει.

10. νικᾶν—why could not Nicias have attacked the cross-wall if he won a series of victories? Thuc., speaking in his own person, seems to represent Nicias as quite blind to this possibility.

11. διὰ παντός—‘continually.’

οὖν—resuming after a long parenthesis. See on c. 42, 3.

§ 2 l. 13. ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν—i.e. north-west of the κύκλος. With προάγειν ἔξω cf. ἐκπλεῖν, ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἔξω.

μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον—‘and not as previously.’ Before, they had fought μεταξύ τῶν τειχισμάτων. (This use of μᾶλλον is a common *meiosis*. Cf. II. 41, 2 οὐ κόμπος μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἀλήθεια.)

14. προαγαγὼν—as to the exact scene and formation of the battle edd. are unable to agree. The question is of no importance.

15. ἐκ πλαγίου—so as to take the A. left in flank. Contrast κατὰ πρόσωπον I. 106.

§ 3 l. 20. δι’ αὐτό—Thuc. constantly uses αὐτό thus to denote something which he has just described. So too αὐτὸ δρᾶν or ποιεῖν are idiomatic.

21. κατηράχθη—this verb κατ-αράσσω is often used by Dio Cassius ; and is found in other late authors, but with *pp*.

§ 4 l. 22. νυκτὶ—words expressing *time* do not need ἐν. Thuc. extends this rule to words like ἐσβολή and πόλεμος, which are *quasi-temporal*.

23. ἔφθασαν παροικοδομήσαντες—notice the rule that with φθάνω, τυγχάνω and λανθάνω the aor. partic. does not denote past time relatively to the leading verb.

καὶ παρελθόντες—‘and so they passed.’ The whole of the passage from this to the end of the c. is an *explanation* of the words παροικοδομήσαντες.

25. μηκέτι μήτε—more emphatic than μήτε . . ἔτι.

μήτε . . τε—so *neque* . . *et*.

26. αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους—applying to the same persons, as often in all Attic prose. So *hic* and *ille* in Cic. *de Fin.* 4, 16, 43.

27. ἀπεστερηκέαι . . μὴ—cf. II. 101 ἀπιστοῦντες μὴ ἤξειν. The perf. denotes the completion of the act.

ἀπεστερηκέαι . . μὴ ἂν . . ἀποτείχισαι—virtually oblique for οὐκ ἂν ἀποτείχισαι.

7 § 1 l. 1. αἵ τε—answered by καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος below.

2. καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν—the art. (αἱ) is not repeated, as often in Thuc. ; cf. c. 14 τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλίσκόμενα.

6. τὸ λοιπὸν—with τοῦ ἐγ. τείχους.

7. μέχρι τοῦ Εὐρύηλου—it was carried so far to prevent an enemy from approaching by the western ascent to Eriopolae.

§ 2 l. 9. ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Σ. ἐπὶ σ. ὤχετο—Cf. Herod. vii. 193 ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν.

στρατιάν τε—answered by καὶ τῶν πόλεων.

10. καὶ ναυτικὴν—‘intending to collect one both naval and military.’

11. μὴ πρόθυμος ἦν=τὰς μὴ π. οὔσας, ‘any that were not (then) eager.’ Cf. [Dem.] 11, 4 τῶν φίλων . . . τοὺς δὲ μηκέτι προθύμους εἶναι συναγωνίστας.

§ 3 l. 13. ἄλλοι—exclusive use, πρέσβεις being contrasted with Gylippus.

15. τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν—for ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ ; unusual order, found also in [Dem.] 47, 33 τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν δυνάμεθα.

17. ἐπιμεταπεμπομένων—‘sending for *fresh* troops.’ Cf. ἐπιπέμπειν c. 15.

§ 4 l. 19. ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀνεπειρῶντο—so c. 51 ; Dem. 51, 5 ἐπεπλήρωτό μοι καὶ πάντες ἐωρᾶθ’ ὑμεῖς ἀναπειρωμένην τὴν ναῦν. Diod. 13, 8 τὰς ἀναπείρας ἐποιοῦντο. The technical expression for practising manœuvres.

21. ἐπέρρωντο—opposite of ἀρρωστεῖν. Both have a physical and a moral sense. Cf. II. 8 ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

8 § 1 l. 4. ἔπεμπε . . ἀγγέλλων—so II. 81 ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες. The partic. is generally in the nom. with πέμπω in Thuc. The imperf. here is probably intended to represent the details of an elaborate act (as often with πέμπω) : thus it will suit both πολλάκις μὲν and μάλιστα δὲ. See c. 3, 1 on λέγοντα.

6. καθ’ ἕκαστα—a prepositional phrase replacing the object (of ἀγγέλλων), as often with ἐπὶ πολὺ.

8. δεινοῖς—regular word for the difficulties of war.

εἰ μὴ . . μεταπέμψουσιν—the construction, εἰ with fut., expresses merely the *logical dependence* of the apodosis on the protasis, whereas ἦν with subj. shows that the speaker hopes or fears the fulfilment of the condition. Thus Thuc. here puts the matter in a scientific form.

10. εἶναι—not ἔσεσθαι. Cf. Lysias 21, 25 ἡγούμενους αἰσχρὸν εἶναι εἰ ἀναγκασθῶμεθα. (The logical expression is sacrificed to effective rhetoric.)

§ 2 l. 11. κατὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἄδυνασίαν—the omission of τὴν after κατὰ shows that Nicias did not know that they actually were incompetent.

12. ἄδυνασίαν—this form, in place of the commoner ἄδυ-

ναμία, is found in Herod., and was perhaps used also by Antiphon.

γινόμενοι—notice that in expressing the two causes, Thuc. varies the construction (κατὰ and causal participle).

13. πρὸς χάριν—cf. II. 65, 8 πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, and πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. The phrases are useful.

τὰ ὄντα—‘the facts.’

14. ἐπιστολήν—*litteras*. In Lat. down to the empire *epistula* means a *private* letter. (Contrast the *verbosa et grandis epistula* from Capreae.)

16. ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ—in the hands of, i.e. *through*. Cf. Aeschines 2, 104 ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποκινδυνεύειν. Common both in prose and verse.

μαθόντας=μαθεῖν καὶ—so that μάλιστα belongs to μαθόντας as well as to βουλευσασθαι.

17. βουλευσασθαι—‘come to a decision.’

§ 3 l. 18. καὶ—‘and so,’ a use frequent also in Aeschylus.

φέροντες—as in Soph. *Aj.* 735 ἡκεὶ φέρων Αἴαντος ἡμῖν πρᾶξιν.

20. διὰ φυλακῆς . . ἔχων—cf. διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, δι’ ὀργῆς ἔ. etc.=*ἐννεχῶς φυλάσσω*. τὰ κατὰ τὸ σ. is object of ἔχων. ‘Superintended the army by keeping it in a state of defence instead of running self-imposed risks.’ So Dio Cass. 47, 36 αὐτοὶ τε διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιοῦντο, taken from this passage. Isaeus 7, 14 δὲν ἡσκει καὶ δι’ ἐπιμέλειας εἶχεν.

21. δι’ ἐκουσίων κινδύνων—Classen supplies ἔχων; Stahl takes the words with ἐπεμέλετο as an adverbial phrase. Either way will do, since ἔχων is itself almost equivalent to an adv. here, implying *continuance*.

22. ἐπεμέλετο—absolute.

3. Περδίκκου—Perdiccas II., son of Alexander the Philhellene. His shifty policy gave great trouble to Athens in the war. 9

(1) Before 432 he was in alliance with Athens.

(2) In 432 he encouraged the revolt of Potidaea, because Athens was in alliance with his brother and enemy Philip.

(3) In 431 he was reconciled to Athens.

(4) In 429 Athens projected an expedition against him, but was unable to undertake it.

(5) In 424 he encouraged Brasidas to invade Thrace.

(6) In 424 autumn, owing to differences with Brasidas, he made terms with the Athenians, but lent no assistance.

(7) In 418 winter, he again joined Sparta, after the battle of Mantinea. The Athenians blockaded him in 417.

(8) He is now again on terms with Athens, but Thuc. has omitted to explain this new change.

The condition of Macedon was much improved after the accession of Archelaus in 413.

ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν—founded 437 by Hagnon (strategus 440, 430, 429). It passed over to Sparta in 424, and was never regained by Athens, though it should have been given back under the terms of the Peace of Nicias. In 358 Philip added it to Macedon. It was the central city of one of the four confederacies into which Rome divided Macedon in 168, after the fall of Perseus.

4. τὴν μὲν πόλιν οὐχ εἶλεν—the neg. put first in parataxis, as often when the *chief object of an action fails*; cf. v. 6 Σταγείρῳ προσβάλλει . . . καὶ οὐχ εἶλεν, Γαληψὸν δὲ λαμβάνει.

10 § 1 l. 1. ἤκοντες—‘came in due course.’ Note that ἤκω has the meaning (1) ‘to appear duly’—in court, of litigants, (2) ‘to return’ from an errand, (3) ‘to reach’ one’s destination.

2. ὅσα τε ἀπὸ—‘the oral message.’ ἀπὸ describes the *means*. Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 539 ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἐπινοίας; *Vesp.* 656 λογίσαι μὴ ψήφοις, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ χειρός.

3. εἶρητο. Cf. c. 4, 7.

4. ἐπηρώτα—why is the indic. used here? Probably because Thuc. refers only to *one* occasion, though many asked questions on that occasion.

5. ὁ γραμματεὺς—sc. τοῦ δήμου. Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* c. 54 χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ οὗτος οὐδενὸς ἐστὶ κύριος ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι.

6. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις—i.e. in the ecclesia. Probably, if we may infer from the decision arrived at, a special summons (κατάκλησις) had been issued to the country population, among which Nicias found his chief support.

δηλοῦσαν—regular word with ἐπιστολή, ψήφισμα, νόμος, στήλη.

τοιάδε—the letter is in the form of a set speech. (It is entitled in F (*Augustanus*) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις Νικίου ἐπιστολή. Cf. T. Its full description would run, according to the rules of Hermogenes, which are followed throughout the rhetorical scholia of Thuc., ἡ στάσις πραγματική, λογική (or ἄγραφος), συμβουλευτικὸν εἶδος, κεφάλαιον ἔχονσα τὸ συμφέρον. Cf. the third letter of Isocrates, written after Chaeronea to Philip.)

11 § 1 l. 2. ἐν ἄλλαις—here ἐν contains the meaning ‘on account of,’ ‘thanks to,’ which it often suggests, just as in Eng. ‘we could not find our way *in* the dark.’ Cf. on c. 8, 2.

3. μαθόντας—cf. τί μαθὼν, παθὼν.

4. ἐν ᾧ—describes the *circumstances*, as very often in Thuc., *in quo sumus statu*. Cf. on c. 29, 4.



βουλεύσασθαι—'to come to a decision'—again ingressive.

§ 2 l. 5. κρατησάντων γάρ—the διήγησις (*narratio*). (This excellently illustrates Aristot. *Rhet.* I, 16, 11 ἐν δὲ δημηγορίᾳ ἥκιστα διήγησις ἐστίν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐθεὶς διηγείται. ἀλλ' ἐάν περ διήγησις ᾗ, τῶν γενομένων ἐστίν, ἢν' ἀναμνησθέντες ἐκείνων βέλτιον βουλεύσονται περὶ τῶν ὕστερον.)

μάχαις ταῖς πλείοσι—why this order? to emphasize the adjective. Cf. II. 2, 2 ἀνδρας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.

6. Συρακοσίου—Classen notes on I. 108 that Thuc. constructs κρατεῖν with accus. when it is connected with μάχη or μαχόμενος (or when one of them is clearly implied in context); otherwise with gen. This rule is generally observed, for κρατεῖν with gen. = κρείσσω γενέσθαι. Cf. Demosth. 8, 32 δὴν κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις; 19, 319 Φωκέας ἐκράτησε (sc. μάχη). [Demosth.] 13, 17 ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν is bad.

ἐφ' οὓς ἐπέμφθημεν—this remark is intended as a defence, by reminding the Athenians of the original plan of campaign. Hence ἐπέμφθημεν, not ἐστρατεύσαμεν.

9. ἐκ τε . . . καὶ ἀπὸ—one of the commonest interchanges of prepositions, esp. in Isocrates. In some uses ἐκ and ἀπὸ are different; e.g. of descent, ἐκ is used of direct, ἀπὸ of indirect descent. Even as used here, ἐκ generally expresses the more important or immediate cause.

10. ἔστιν ὧν—in the nom. plur. always εἰσιν (οἷ, αἷ); in oblique cases always ἔστιν (ὧν, οἷς, etc.) in Thuc., except when words intervene, as in c. 25 ἦσαν τῶν σταυρῶν οὓς.

11. νικάται . . . ἀνεχωρήσαμεν—for the hist. pres. followed by aor., cf. on c. 3, 4. (Notice the extreme simplicity and beauty of the style here.)

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ—sc. μάχη, as in III. 91. In I. 44, 1 ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ = in the next day's assembly; and so in v. 46, 1. But when no noun precedes, ἡμέρα is meant.

12. ἀκοντισταῖς βιασθέντες—in c. 43 βιασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν. The dat. is not 'agent,' but that used in military and naval phrases, of the general's παρασκευή. Hence ὑπ' αὐτοῦ is to be supplied. Note also that with βιάζομαι and all verbs denoting force, ὑπὸ and gen. is common with non-personal agents, as βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. See on c. 13, 2.

§ 3 l. 15. πλήθος—of superior numbers, as often.

ἡσυχάζομεν—regular word to denote abstention from hostile operations. So *quiescere*.

17. μέρος τι—the addition of τι indefinitely extends the force of μέρος.

19. ὥστε μὴ εἶναι—the infin. with ὥστε here expresses something which has actually occurred (it being the natural result), as in II. 4 τὰς πύλας ἐκλήσεν ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτη ἔτι ἐξοδὸν εἶναι.

The more energetic indie. construction with ὥστε is far commoner in Xenophon and the Orators than in Herod., Thuc. and Tragedy.

περιτείχισαι αὐτούς—he might have said περιτείχισιν αὐτῶν. Cf. IV. 131 οὐκ ἐγγίγνετο σφῶν περιτείχισις.

21. ἐπελθὼν—‘attack,’ here with accus., παρατείχισμα being common object to partic. and verb.

§ 4 l. 22. Ξυμβέβηκε . . . δοκοῦντας—with ξυμβαίνει and infin. either dat. or accus. is used, dat. when the case precedes the infin., as II. 61 ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι ἀκεραλοῖς.

τε—‘and so,’ giving the result of preceding details.

23. αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον—‘ourselves instead.’

ὅσα γε—*dumtaxat*, ‘as far as concerns,’ as in IV. 48 ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε. Demosth. 21, 18 τούτων, ὅσα γ’ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γέγονεν; Plato, *Rep.* v. 14 ὅσα ἀνθρωποῖ. Thuc. very often omits parts of εἰμί, γίγνομαι after ὅσος.

24. τοῦτο πάσχειν—passive of τοῦτο ποιεῖν or δρᾶν, the regular phrases for referring to an action just described: I. 5, 2; 6, 5; II. 11, 8; 49, 5.

οὐδὲ γάρ—here begins the description of the difficulties of Nicias.

τῆς χώρας—put in a prominent position because it further emphasizes ὅσα γε κατὰ γῆν. Thuc. constantly inverts the natural order for the sake of emphasis, esp. the order of the gen.

25. ἐπὶ πολὺ—used here of *space*; less often of *time*.

12 § 1 l. 1. πεπόμφασι δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ . . . οἴχεται—chiasmus is very common in Thuc., and is quite a feature of his style.

4. τὰς μὲν . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν—the regular, but not universal order when a preposition occurs with ὁ μὲν or ὁ δὲ is that the particle should follow the preposition immediately; e.g. Andoc. I. 29 περὶ μὲν τῶν μυστηρίων . . . περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων. In VI. 76, 4 οἱ μὲν is in a remarkable position.

καὶ πείσω . . . καὶ στρατιάν—the double καὶ marks the balancing of the clauses, as in ὥσπερ καὶ . . . οὕτω καὶ.

§ 2 l. 9. τῶν τευχῶν . . . πειρᾶν—the act. and mid. are equally used in this sense, II. 81 ὅπως περῶντο τοῦ τεύχους. (Eustathius on Hom. Δ 166 τὸ πειρᾶσθαι παθητικὸν Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιῆσθαι ἀπόπειραν. “Ὀμηρὸς μέντοι τὸ πειρᾶσθαι πειρᾶν ἐνταῦθα φησὶν ἐνεργητικῶς . . . καὶ Θουκυδίδης δὲ ‘τῶν τευχῶν ἡμῶν πειρᾶν.’”) See also on c. 32, 1.

§ 3 l. 11. δεινὸν . . . δόξη—passive of δεινὸν ποιῆσθαι ‘to consider incredible.’ δεινὸν ποιεῖν denotes the outward expression of surprise, and is often used by Herod. and Thuc. But often in the Orators δεινὸν ποιεῖν means ‘to act disgracefully’; as Lys. 3. 7, 26.

12. **ὅτι καὶ**—for the ellipse after **ὅτι**, cf. [Demosth.] 47, 41 *ἂ πεπονθὼς ἦν εἶπον καὶ ὅτι εἰσπράττων τῇ πόλει τὰ σκεύη*.

14. **κάκεινοι**—*ἐκεῖνος* of 'the enemy,' as c. 6, 1. In. II. 11, 6 *ὅταν ὀρώσιν ἡμᾶς δηοῦντάς τε καὶ τάκεινων φθείροντας*, we expect *τὰ ἑαυτῶν*, but Thuc. makes Archidamus refer to the enemy as *ἐκεῖνοι*.

**τὸ μὲν πρῶτον**—'though at first.'

15. **ἤκμαζε . . . ξηρότητι**—cf. II. 20 *ἀκμάζοντες νεότητι*.

17. **σωτηρίᾳ**—'soundness.'

**νῦν δὲ**—the contrast of Past with Present is among the commonest of rhetorical devices. Aristotle remarks that the efficacy of Antithesis results from its having the appearance of being a Proof; Bain that it is a consequence of the law that 'we are affected only by change of impression.'

§ 4 l. 20. **ἀνελκύσαντας διαψύξαι**—cf. Herod. VII. 59 *τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες*; Xen. *Hell.* I. 5, 10 *ἀνελκύσας τὰς ναὺς ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων*.

21. **καὶ ἔτι πλείους**—the *corrective* use of **καί**, as Demosth. in the third Philippic, *ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς*.

23. **φανερὰ δέ εἰσιν**—cf. *δῆλός εἰμι*. A periphrasis of *ποιῶ, εἰμι*, or *γίγνομαι* with an adj. is very common, esp. in Herod. See Stein on Herod. v. 63, 5. Cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* 122 *πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδότους ἐποίησαν*.

25. **μᾶλλον**—*i.e.* *ἢ ἡμῶν*, ellipse with the comparative being very common.

**ἐξουσία**—the idiom *ἐξουσία ἐστὶ* or *γίγνεται* with plain infin. occurs frequently.

§ 1 l. 1. **ἐκ πολλῆς περιουσίας**—'as the result of a great superiority,' *i.e.* 'if we had a great numerical superiority.' 13  
For the use of *ἐκ* cf. II. 62, 5 *ἡ ξύνεσις τὴν τόλμαν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται*. The phrase *ἐκ περιουσίας* occurs also in VIII. 45; Demosth. 18, 3; 45, 67.

2. **καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαζομένοις**—on the use of the partic. here see note on c. 18, 1.

4. **εἰ . . . ἀφαιρήσομεν**—see on c. 8, 1.

**τῆς τηρήσεως**—the use of these verbal nouns in *-της* and *-σις*, so common in Thuc., is a means of giving dignity to the expression.

§ 2 l. 7. **ἔτι νῦν**—both *ἔτι νῦν* and *νῦν ἔτι* are found. *φθεῖρεσθαι* is the opposite of *αὐξάνεσθαι*.

8. **διὰ φρυγανισμὸν**—cf. *lignatum, pabulatum, aquatum ire*.

10. **ἀπολλυμένων . . . αὐτομολοῦσι**—*anacoluthon*, the partic. being exchanged for a finite verb, as in II. 47, 3 *λεγόμενον μὲν . . . οὐ μέντοι ἐμνημονεύετο*. (Anacoluthon is common in Thuc., but many falsely explain the *solecisms* that appear in the vulgate as *anacolutha*.)

11. ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν—in II. 89 ἀντίπαλος is contrasted with ὑποδέστρος. As long as the fleet was intact, the attendants had felt the superiority of the Athenian force: but now the two sides were to contend on equal terms.

13. ὑπὸ . . . μισθοῦ . . . ἐπαρθέντες—the verbs which in prose commonly have ὑπὸ with things are such as νικῶμαι, βλάπτομαι, διαφθείρομαι, ἀναγκάζομαι, ἡττῶμαι, πείθομαι. Lysias also uses ἐπαίρομαι with ὑπό. The thing so used must be such as can easily be personified, e.g. (1) *natural phenomena*, χειμῶν, ἄπλοια, σεισμός, (2) *external circumstances*, κίνδυνος, συμφορά, πληγαί, δεσμοί, κέρδος, χρήματα, νόμος, (3) *emotions*, ἡδονή, φθόνος, (4) *words that imply a person*, λόγοι, πράγματα, δύναμις, when the person is often inserted (as ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος δεινότητος), and all the topics of rhetoric, as ὑπὸ τῶν εἰκότων, ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαίου. The construction is *optional* in these cases; e.g. Isocr. 5, 40 says τὰς πόλεις ὠμαλισμένας ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, but 6, 65 ὠμαλισμένοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

16. παρὰ γνῶμην—(1) here ‘unexpectedly’; (2) may mean also ‘unreasonably.’

17. ἐπ’ αὐτομολίας προφάσει—‘taking the opportunity afforded by desertion’ is probably the meaning, as perhaps in Demosth. 16, 25 ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Ἰλαταιῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν τὰς οὐσας πόλεις ἀναιρεθείσας περιδεῖν. Elsewhere ἐπὶ προφάσει means ‘on pretext.’ Some, he says, desert to the enemy; others simply go away. (Classen says ‘on any opportunity of deserting’; but πρόφασις certainly does not mean ‘an opportunity of doing something,’ but an opportunity which is afforded by something.)

18. ὡς ἕκαστοι δύνανται—‘as they find a chance,’ i.e. without joining the enemy. Hence he adds πολλὴ ἡ Σικελία. Cf. II. 16, 3 ὡς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο.

19. πολλὴ δ’ ἡ Σικελία—the remark has more point than appears at first sight; for there must have been many in the Ecclesia who still had a very vague notion of the size of Sicily.

20. Ὑκκαρικὰ—Hyccara (now Carini) was a Sicanian town between Phoenician Panormus and Elymian Segesta. The Athenians captured it shortly after arriving in Sicily. Lais, who became one of the most famous and most exacting of the Beauties of antiquity, was captured there and sent to Corinth. A pathetic episode in the life of Alcibiades is his love for Timandra, mother of Lais.

21. ἀντεμβιβάζσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν—cf. Herod. III. 14 ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα ἀνταπόλλυσθαι.

22. τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ—cf. Arrian, *Anab.* I. 2, 7 τὴν α. τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλοντο.



§ 1 l. 1. **ἐπισταμένοις δ' ὑμῖν γράφω**—‘you do not need to be told that.’ Both in Greek and, still oftener, in Lat. a 1st pers. sing. is used where *we* prefer to avoid it. With the perf. in Gk., the impers. pass. is preferred to the 1st pers. sing. act.

2. **βραχεῖα ἀκμή πληρώματος**—generally taken to mean ‘the efficient part of a ship’s crew is small’; and this accords well with the next clause. But the Schol. says οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ ἀκμάζει ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, with which agrees Plutarch, *Cæsar*. 40 παρσκευασμένος ἄριστα πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἡξίου τρίβειν καὶ μαραίνειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀκμὴν βραχείαν οὖσαν. The Schol. is probably right, though βραχὺς in Thuc. often = ‘small.’

**καὶ ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν**—‘it is but few of the sailors that both start the ship, and (then) keep rowing (all the time).’ *ἐξορμᾶν* means that the sailors start ‘working,’ *ξυνέχειν* that only few of them continue to work, *ξυνεχῶς τὴν εἰρεσίαν ποιοῦνται*. Too many of those who work at first ‘get slack’ after a short time: others reserve themselves at the start.

§ 2 l. 4. **τούτων**—Thuc. is very fond of putting the ‘partitive’ τούτων first in the sentence.

**πάντων ἀπορώτατον**—note the idiom. Demosth. 8, 35 πάντων ἀνθρώπων φαυλότατοι; *ib.* 58 ἀνοητότατος πάντων; 9, 10 πάντων εὐηθέστατοι; 3, 16 πάντων αἰσχιστα; *ib.* 31 πάντων ἀνδρειότατον.

5. **τό τε μὴ . . . εἶναι . . . καὶ ὅτι**—a clause with ὅτι is often combined with a clause in different construction, *e.g.* Demosth. 19, 203 ἐπιδείξει καὶ ὅτι ψεύσεται καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀπολογία.

6. **χαλεπαὶ . . . ἄρξαι**—cf. VI. 42 εὐκοσμότεροι καὶ ῥᾶνους ἄρχειν.

**αἱ ὑμέτεραι φύσεις**—the common complaint that with Athenian freedom was mingled ἀταξία. The opponents of democracy ascribed the defect to ignorance. It was, however, mainly caused by the too rapid development of the Athenian polity after the Persian wars; the people acquired democratic institutions before they had mastered the lesson of obedience. Only exceptional men like Themistocles and Pericles were able to remedy the defect.

7. **ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα**—the fut. expressing possibility after the rel. in primary sequence, the only construction in Attic prose, except where the delib. subj. is possible. Homer uses also the subj., generally with *κέν*.

9. **ἀφ' ὧν . . . γίνεσθαι**—‘both the men that we have and the men that we lose come of necessity from the men that we brought out with us.’

10. **τά τε ὄντα** refers to ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν above: though

but few of the sailors in the ship are really efficient, yet we cannot turn the crews out and supply their places with others—or, if we do, we must draw on the reserves we brought; but they are badly needed to supply our losses.

τε . . . καί—two distinct things are here joined without repetition of the art., as in Eur. *Ion* 7 τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων ἀεί.

καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα—refers to βραχεία ἀκμή πληρώματος above. Sickness, exhaustion, and death remove many men in the crews: such losses represent a dead loss on the total sent out, since there is no source of supply except the reserves. Notice (1) the chiasmic arrangement here—βραχεία ἀκμή . . . ὀλίγοι . . . τὰ ὄντα . . . ἀπαναλισκόμενα—of which Thuc. is very fond: (2) the *neut.*, used because totals are being dealt with.

αἱ γὰρ νῦν—for αἱ γὰρ πόλεις αἱ νῦν οὔσαι ξυμ.

11. Νάξος καὶ Κατάνη—Naxos, though the oldest Greek city in Sicily, was never important. It was destroyed in 403 B.C. Pausanias says that no traces of it remained in his day (a slight exaggeration). The site is now occupied by an orange grove. Catana was a colony from Naxos. It is an uninteresting town, the ancient remains having been buried by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; but it is now the second city in Sicily in point of size.

§ 3 l. 12. ἐν ἔτι . . . ὥστε—i.e. 'if they only succeed in gaining over the Italian cities'; the ὥστε clause being *epexegetic* of ἐν. Cf. Herod. v. 31 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις; Theocr. 14, 58 εἰ δ' οὕτως ἄρα τοι δοκεῖ ὥστ' ἀποδαμεῖν.

13. τῆς Ἰταλίας—already before the Peloponnesian war both the Athenians and Spartans had made alliances in Italy, by which they understood only the S.W. corner of Italy, from Heraclea on the east and the Laus on the west.

14. ὀρῶντα . . . ἐπιβοηθούτων—cf. II. 25 ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων.

ἐν ᾧ—see c. 11, l.

15. διαπεπολεμήσεται—'they will bring the war to an end without striking a blow.'

§ 4 l. 18. ἡδῶ μὲν ἀν—Demosth., in the 3rd Olynthiac, says that the old orators, Aristides, Pericles, Nicias, used to speak the truth, not try to please. So Thuc. says of Pericles. Cf. Livy 22, 38 *contio verior quam gratior*.

23. ἦν τι . . . μὴ—'should the event fail to correspond' with the pleasant anticipation aroused in you by the evil habit some orators have of speaking πρὸς χάριν, πρὸς ἡδονήν.

24. ἀσφαλέστερον—strikes the key-note of Nicias' policy.

§ 1 l. 1. *ὥς ἐφ' ᾧ ἤλθομεν*—‘and so, as concerns the original object of the expedition, consider that,’ etc. *ὥς* with gen. abs. is often used thus with *διανοοῦμαι* and such words. See *M. T.* 918. *Plat. Rep.* p. 523 c *ὥς ἐγγύθεν ὁρμωμένους λέγοντός μου διανοῦ*.

3. *οὕτω τὴν γνῶμην ἔχετε*—cf. *Demosth.* 18, 291 *οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνῶμην*. A patriot's part is to deplore the misfortune of his country, but not to attack the statesmen unless they are really culpable.

7. *ἀνταρκοῦντων . . . δέον*—the change is necessary because the 2nd partic. is impersonal. Cf. 25, 9 *ὄντων . . . διαπεπολεμησόμενον*.

8. *μεταπέμπειν . . . ἐπιπέμπειν*—*παρονομασία*, as *II.* 60, 1 *κακοτυχῶν ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ*, 98, 1 *ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδέν, προσεγίγνετο δέ*. (It is one of the *σχήματα λέξεως* first taught by Gorgias.)

11. *ἄδύνατος*—recalling the technical term for *οἱ τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένοι* at Athens.

§ 2 l. 13. *πολλὰ . . . ὑμᾶς εὖ ἐποίησα*—rather unusual for *πολλὰ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐποίησα*. *Demosth.* 19, 41, quoting Philip, *ἡλίκᾳ τὴν πόλιν εὖ ποιήσω ; ib.* 220 *μείζον' ἢ κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν εὖ ποιήσιν τὴν πόλιν*. It was one of the stock devices of orators to dwell on their services to the state.

§ 3 l. 15. *μέλλετε*—sc. *πράσσειν*.

*μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς πράσσετε*—*Herod.* VIII. 21 *οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ; Isocr. Ep.* 1, 10 *δηλώσομεν δ' οὐκ εἰς ἀναβολὰς*. Cf. *οὐκ ἐς μακράν*.

17. *τὰ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ*—‘help in S.’

*δι' ὀλίγου ποριουμένων*—‘will quickly obtain.’ *δι' ὀλίγου* is common in *Thuc.*, both temporal and local. *Demosth.* 19, 186 *χρόνος ἐν ᾧ ποριούνται ὧν ἂν δέωνται*.

19. *σχολαίτερον μὲν*—sc. *ποριουμένων*.

20. *τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν*—sc. *πορισάμενοι*, and so with *φθήσονται*. There is *anacoluthon* here, the partic. *ποριουμένων* being replaced by the finite *λήσουσι, φθήσονται*. Cf. *II.* 47, 3 *λεγόμενον μὲν . . . οὐ μέντοι ἐμνημονεύετο*.

§ 1 l. 3. *παρέλυσαν*—‘released.’ Cf. *Herod.* VII. 38 *τῶν παίδων ἓνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς*. *Lucian* has *παράλυσεν τῆς δίκης*.

5. *αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ*—pleonasm with *αὐτοῦ* is common : e.g. *Homer II.* 19, 330 *αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ; Od.* 20, 159 *αὐτοῦ κατὰ δῶματ'*. *Herod.* I. 82 *αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι*. *Plat. Alc.* p. 109 b *αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ*.

6. *δύο*—thus the places of Alcibiades and Lamachus were filled, but it was a great error to restore the ‘debating club’ method of command. Cf. *Macaulay* on *Argyle's expedition*, *E. H.* I. 5.

7. **μόνος ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τ.**—the chief emphasis is on *μόνος*. Take *ταλαιπωρεῖν* to mean *exceptional* distress as usual. It is often used of sickness and of the hardships of a protracted or unfortunate expedition.

10. **Ἀθηναίων . . . ἐκ καταλόγου**—the fourth class (*θῆτες*) was excluded from the muster-roll, and regularly served as *ἐπιβάται*, being exceptionally employed, *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*, in the infantry.

12. **Δημοσθένης**—his record: (1) 426, Aetolian expedition, which, after a bad start, resulted in the total defeat of the Aetolians and Ambraciots at Argos Amphilocheicum: (2) 425, established Pylus: (3) 424, successful expedition against Megara, but subsequent failure in Boeotia. He had figured as prosecutor in the courts.

13. **Εὐρυμέδοντα**—his record: (1) 427, commanded the fleet sent to Corecra, but took no action: (2) 426, commanded the land force in a successful attack on Boeotia: (3) 425, commanded the first fleet sent to Sicily by Athens, and, on the way, aided in the extermination of the Corecraean aristocrats. For his want of success in Sicily in 425 he was fined.

§ 2 l. 19. **ἤξει**—see c. 1, 4.

**ἐπιμέλεια ἔσται**—so Demosth. proem 54 *ἡ ἡμετέρα γέγον' ἐπιμέλεια*. Periphrases of abstract nouns with *εἰμί*, *γίγνομαι* are very idiomatic.

17 § 1 l. 1. **ὑπομένων**—remaining *behind*, esp. in a place of danger or duty. Hence often used by litigants who *might have avoided trial* by flight: also of troops in action.

3. **στρατιὰν ἐπαγγέλλαν**—cf. III. 16 *κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον νεῶν πλῆθος*. Technical word for sending out a *formal* notice, which may amount to a command. Cf. *περιᾶγγέλλω*.

5. **αὐτόθεν**—from Attica.

§ 2 l. 6. **πέμπουσι**—see on c. 3, 1. So *pergo* is constantly used in hist. pres.

**περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον**—this system of cruising was started by Pericles, it being impossible for Athens to spare sufficient troops for an invasion of the Pel.

8. **φυλάσσοιεν μηδένα . . . περαιοῦσθαι**—*M. T.* 724 'verbs of *caution* may be followed by an infin. (with or without *μή*), which sometimes has the art.'

§ 3 l. 11. **τὰ ἐν τῇ Σ. βελτίω**—sc. *εἶναι*. *ἀγγέλλω* ordinarily follows the same rule as *λέγω*, i.e. it takes *ὅτι*, etc., and moods when it implies no command; infin. when it implies command: but Thuc. does not keep strictly to these rules. *ἀγγέλλω* sometimes takes partic. on analogy of verbs of *showing*. Demosth. has *Φίλιππος ἡγγέλθη ἀσθενῶν*.

13. **πέμψιν . . . ποιήσασθαι**—for the periphrases of noun



and ποιοῦμαι and its pass. γίγνομαι, see Index. προτέραν refers to the sending of Gylippus and Pythen.

15. ἐν ὁλκάσι—order perverted for the sake of emphasis, as often. The sending of troops in merchant ships was unusual.

παρεσκευάζοντο . . . ἀποστελόντες—the omission of ὡς with παρασκευάζομαι is very rare *except* in Thuc., who has it several times. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1, 41 παρεσκευάζετο πορευσόμενος.

18. τῷ αὐτῷ τ.—*i.e.* ἐν ὁλκάσι, with πέμψοντες.

§ 4 l. 19. ναῦς—put first for the sake of the antithesis with ἐν ὁλκάσι. So in II. 7 πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τὰ κείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθη διακοσίας ποιεῖσθαι, where ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σ. ought to follow τοῖς, but is put first to contrast it with αὐτοῦ.

21. ὅπως . . . ἀποπειράσωσι . . . κωλύοιεν—‘as the two forms are equally correct, we sometimes find both in the same sentence.’—Goodwin.

22. τὴν ἐν τῇ Ν. φυλακῇ—the station was first established under Phormio in the autumn of 430 in order to close the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf. Trans. ‘against the ships stationed at N.’

23. αὐτῶν—should be σφῶν.

24-5. πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν ἀντίταξιν—‘by having to watch their line of war-ships which would be opposing them’; *i.e.* the attention which the A. would have to bestow on the Cor. triremes would give the merchant ships a chance.

§ 1 l. 1. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ—this *epanaphora* of παρασκευάζομαι completes the account of the preparations on the part of (1) Demosthenes, (2) the Corinthians and Lac., (3) the Lac. Cf. II. 7 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. 18

τὴν . . . ἐσβολὴν—there had been no invasion of Attica since 425.

2. ὥσπερ τε προεδέδοκτο . . . ἐναγόντων—the circumstantial partic. is joined with any expression of similar import in another construction; ‘in accordance with their own previous determination and at the instigation of.’ Thus the peace of Nicias was finally breaking down after some eight years of half peace.

5. ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο—sc. the Cor. and Syr.

τὴν . . . βοήθειαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν—Cf. II. 52 ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν; Herod. III. 7 οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἰγύπτου; v. 63 ὁ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. This omission of art. before the prep. is common with verbal substantives. If the prep. and case *precedes* the art., as in καθ’ ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις (cf. on c. 17, 4) II. 38, 1, the object is to produce *antithesis*.

7. δῆ—giving the *actual* reason, as in γ. 85 *al.*

8. προσκείμενος ἐδίδασκε—‘urgently advised them.’

9. Δεκέλειαν—it commands the road from Athens to Oropus, and thus to Euboea, whence came a great part of the corn supplies of Athens. Of similar strategical importance were Phyle and Oenoe.

§ 2 l. 17. προτέρῳ—the Archidamian war.

19. Πλάταιαν—it was an ally of Athens since 520 B.C. III. 68, 5.

21. πρότερον—the thirty years’ truce, 445 B.C.

22. ἐθέλωσι—the form θέλω is archaic, and in Attic prose occurs only in the phrase ἦν θεὸς θέλη.

διδόναι δίκας—‘submit to a judicial decision’; contrast δίκην δοῦναι.

24. εἰκότως—‘deservedly.’ Cf. εἰκός ἐστι = *deceit*.

ἐνεθυμούντο—‘began to think over’—*i.e.* began to think it had been deserved.

25. τὴν περὶ Πύλον ξυμφορὰν—in 425 B.C.

§ 3 l. 28. Ἐπιδαύρου = E. Limera, in Laconia. There are ruins of the town. The A. had ravaged it in 414, and thus broken the terms of the peace.

Πρασιῶν—also in Laconia, and ravaged at the same time as Epidaurus. It had been destroyed by the A. in 430. It suffered severely, and its fate is a proof how effective the method of Pericles was.

30. τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἅ.—‘about disputed points in the treaty of 421,’ after περὶ του.

32. ἐπιτρέπειν—Pollux says ἡ δίαίτα (arbitration) ἐκαλεῖτο ἐπιτροπή.

τότε δῆ—co-ordinate with ἐπειδὴ above, introducing the decisive moment.

34. σφίσι—the subject of the perf. or pluperf. pass. not being personal, the agent is necessarily in dative.

ἡμάρτητο—cf. Plat. *Rep.* p. 544 D ἡμαρτημένας πόλεις.

35. τὸ αὐτὸ—rendering τὸ παρανόημα still clearer. The sentence of which this section consists is in every way a model of style, and will repay careful attention.

πέριεστάναι—‘shifted round’ like a wheel, as Cicero says of politics *orbis reipublicae est conversus* (*ad At.* II. 9).

§ 4 l. 36. σιδηρον—‘iron tools.’

37. περιήγγελλον—as in II. 85 ναὺς περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις. We expect παρασκευάζεσθαι or πέμψαι to follow.

39. ἐπιτευχισμόν—of Decelea.

41. ἐπικουρίαν—esp. used of a foreign (or mercenary) force.

42. προσηνάγκαζον—sc. πορίζειν, the same brachylogy as with διανοοῦμαι γ. 80, οἶμαι c. 66, 3, ὁρῶ γ. 80.

43. ὄγδοον καὶ δέκατον—contrast VIII. 6 ἐνὸς δέον εἰκοστόν. The periphrastic forms are preferred in prose, esp. for 19, 29, etc.

44. ἐτελεύτα τῷδε—the *epanaphora* of the verb in this formula is prob. accidental. The formal close is in accordance with the Gk. habit of ending quietly.

§ 1 l. 1. ἐπιγιγνομένου—used of natural phenomena, whether ordinary or unexpected. 19

4. ἡγεῖτο—ἡγεμών is the regular word for a Spartan king or regent in the field, and for the supreme commander of any foreign expedition.

Ἀρχιδάμου—had died in 427 B.C.

5. πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα—Thuc. has πρῶτον (πρῶτα) μὲν . . . ἔπειτα twenty-eight times, while he adds δὲ only eight times. If καὶ follows ἔπειτα, δὲ is regularly added, even if πρῶτον is without μὲν.

6. τὰ περὶ τὸ πεδίον—‘the country about the (Attic) plain.’

7. κατὰ πόλεις διελόμενοι—a common practice.

§ 2 l. 10. εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν—if the text is right, Thuc. reckons in the case of Boeotia from Oropus, which belonged to Athens and from which ran the road to Decerea and Athens, through the demes of Aphidna and Cephisia. Otherwise the distance would be much less. But from ἀπέχει to Βοιωτίας may be spurious, like some others of the geographical data in Thuc.

11. [καὶ οὐ π. πλέον]—‘or not much more’; but καὶ added in B is prob. only a correction. When an adscript is brought into the text, it is frequently joined on with καί.

12. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ—‘for the control of,’ in speaking of forts, etc., which by their position threaten a locality; e.g. v. 7 ἐθεῖατο τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Θράκη ὡς ἔχου. Cf. the Château Gaillard.

13. τοῖς κρατίστοις—‘the richest parts,’ the soil of Attica as a whole not being rich. The land about Cephisia is noted for its vegetation.

ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν—with ὠκοδομεῖτο, expressing purpose. Cf. Demosth. 31, 13 παρεσκεύασεν εἰς τὸ λέγειν τι δοκεῖν.

§ 3 l. 18. ταῖς ὁλκάσι—without ἐν, as c. 7, 3.

21. ἐπιλεξάμενοι—i.e. placing them among the hoplites. They were first so used by Brasidas in Thrace. Before this they had only attended their masters in the field. One as θεράπων was his master’s armour-bearer. The rest were used either as light-armed troops, or as sappers, engineers, or carriers. The king often ordered them to carry booty.

νεοδαμῶδων—helots emancipated as a reward for military services since 424 B.C.

23. ἄρχοντα—not ἡγεμών, as it was not a general expedition

under the king. Contrast § 1. So Brasidas is always called ἄρχων or στρατηγός.

**Βοιωτοί**—loosely reckoned among οἱ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, as though he had said only οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, which generally in Thuc. includes all the allies of Sparta. When in II. 9 he says Πελοποννήσιοι πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, he uses II. in the strict geographical sense, in contrast with the Greeks ἔξω Πελοποννήσου.

§ 4 l. 26. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις—the same idiom c. 24, 3; 27, 3; 71, 3. It is constantly corrupted in the MSS. of Thuc., as the scribes did not understand it.

**ὀρμήσαντες**—generally ὀρμῶμαι is used in this sense.

27. ἐς τὸ πέρατος ἀφείσαν—a frequent idiom; e.g. Herod. VII. 193; Aristoph. *Eg.* 432 ἀφήσω κατὰ κῦμ' ἐμᾶντὸν οὖριον. θάλασσα cannot be used in this phrase; only Plutarch and Pausanias do so.

28. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Κορίνθιοι—this still refers to οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ above, which is in fact divided into Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν . . . Βοιωτοὶ δὲ . . . Κορίνθιοι . . . Σικυῶνιοι, but the sense requires that the imperf. ἀπέστελλον should be given up for the aor. ἀφείσαν, ἀπέπεμψαν, ἀπέστειλαν. (The form of this passage, like many others, shows how Thuc. is in a transition stage between the εἰρομένη λέξις—running style of Herod.—and the artificial periods of Isocrates.)

31. ἄρχοντα—governed by both partic. and verb.

33. Σικυῶνιοι—now dissatisfied with Sparta because early in 417 an aristocratic government had been forced upon it. This aristocracy, however, subsequently got the upper hand, and Sicyon aided Sparta after the battle of Leuctra, 371. But in 369, the democrats revived and Sicyon joined Thebes. In 367 or 6, after violent dissensions and the tyranny of Euthyphron, it passed again into the hands of Sparta.

§ 5 l. 39. ἔωσπερ—rare, except in Plato. It occurs in Xen. *Hel.* VI. 5, 12; VII. 2, 23 (Dindorf); *Cyrop.* VII. 5, 39; Demosth. 54, 3; Plat. *Lach.* p. 188 B; *Apol.* p. 29 D; *Protag.* p. 325 A; *Rep.* p. 342 B, 433 B; *Phaedr.* p. 243 E; *Theaet.* p. 177 D, 200 C; *Meno* p. 97 C; *Parmen.* p. 144 C; *Sophist.* p. 235 C.

αὐτοῖς—‘they found that’—dat. of interest.

43. τὸν νοῦν ἔχωσιν—distinguish from νοῦν ἔχειν = to be sensible.

20 § 1 l. 3. περί τε—answered by καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη.

5. ᾧ εἴρητο . . . ἀφικομένῳ . . . παρακαλεῖν—same construction c. 20, 1. The other constr.—the partic. in the accus.—is found also in c. 20. Cf. VIII. 39 εἴρητο αὐτοῖς ἐς Μίλητον ἀφικομένους ξυνεπιμελεῖσθαι.



7. τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν — Argos was neutral throughout the Archidamian War, having a treaty with Sparta. It finally joined Athens in 417.

παρακαλεῖν . . . ἐπὶ—a military phrase ; cf. παραβοθεῖν ἐπὶ c. 37, 3 ; 53, 1 ; 71, 6.

§ 2 l. 10. ἀπέστελλον—imperf. representing the details of an elaborate business, as constantly with 'sending' verbs ; cf. on c. 3, 1.

11. Χίαις—the only island in the Aegean besides Lesbos then retaining the position of an independent ally of Athens. Hence it supplied a contingent of ships and paid no tribute.

12. Ἀθηναίων—after δ. καὶ χ., partitive. See on c. 16, 1.

13. νησιωτῶν—i.e. the other Aegean islands ; it was their duty to supply πρὸν καὶ χρήματα.

14. χρήσασθαι — ingressive, 'obtain for service'—a sense almost confined to first aor. forms.

ἄλλων — viz. those of Ionia, Hellespont, and Thracian Chalcidice. They also were liable to supply infantry, if required. (This incident illustrates the encroachments of Athens on the rights of her allies. They were not originally liable to personal service after they commuted their contingents for a money payment ; much less were they bound to supply anything Athens might require.)

15. εἶχον — subject, the Athenians.

16. ξυμπορίσαντες—joined by καὶ to the datives above, as all express attendant circumstances of some kind.

17. Χαρίκλέους—he had been one of the commission, ζητηταί, appointed to inquire into the mysterious mutilation of the Hermæ in 415. (Like Pisander, he started as a democrat, but went over to the oligarchs in 412, becoming one of the Four Hundred. He fled to Decelea when the Four Hundred were deposed, and assisted in the ruin of Athens. He returned along with Critias and other exiles under the terms of peace imposed by Sparta. He was active in promoting the establishment of the Thirty, of whom he became one. When Theramenes opposed the violent measures of Critias, and the party split into two factions, Charicles followed Critias and shared with him the authorship of the worst deeds of the Thirty. His demeanour was servile to Lysander, but overbearing towards his countrymen.)

§ 3 l. 21. καὶ τὸ κ.τ.λ.—the clause is object of περιέμενε. Cf. III. 2, 2.

§ 1 l. 2. ἦκεν—'returned' from his expedition into the interior. 21

4. ἐκασταχόθεν—in the rel. clause, as c. 20, 2.

§ 2 l. 7. ἀπόπειραν λαμβάνειν—cf. Herod. VIII. 9 ἀπόπειραν ποιήσασθαι.

8. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ—*i.e.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀπόπειραν λ. : there is the same use of *id, hoc, quod, quare*, in Lat., as Cic. *de Leg.* 11. 33 *exemplorum nostra est plena respublica ex augurum praedictis multa vera cecidisse. Neque enim . . id (i.e. augurandi consuetudinem) ad hoc tempus retinuisse.*

9. ἄξιον τοῦ κινδύνου—‘worth the risk,’ something which would be *cheap at the price, a good return.*

§ 3 l. 10. ξυνανέπειθε δὲ—very difficult : ‘Moreover II. earnestly supported his advice (καὶ *only emphasises συν-*), so that they might not lack spirit to attack by sea, saying as a retort to the A. that even they had no hereditary right to naval skill, nor yet would it last for ever.’ The imperf. and the *-av-* both denote the *difficulty* of persuading them. They had before thought of peace.

11. Ἐρμοκράτης—the Themistocles of Syracuse.

12. τοῦ . . . μὴ ἀθυμεῖν—expresses purpose, a construction rare outside Thuc. (So Goodwin ; but edd. rightly deny that the words can go directly with *ξυνανέπειθε*. The remedy is surely to comma them off, not to alter τοῦ.)

ταῖς ναυσὶ—*not* ‘attack the A. fleet,’ but ‘attack with their own fleet’ ; cf. c. 7, 4.

13. ἐπιχειρήσαι—the MSS. have the fut., but the abbreviations for the aor. and fut. were indistinguishable. (If it is bracketed, ταῖς ναυσὶ must go with ἀθυμεῖν.)

πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ.—it is always assumed that this goes with ἐπιχειρήσαι, but there are no instances of ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὸς (L. and S. cite this wrongly as 7, 51) : hence we take it with λέγων, as in σκοπεῖν, βουλευέσθαι πρὸς. Cf. Andoc. 1, 48 λέγει πρὸς με, ‘he says, meaning me . . .’ ; Aeschines 2, 42 μνημονικῶς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰ . . . ‘in answer to . . .’ ; Demosth. 24, 190 πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους προακηκοέναι μικρά. (It is well known how fond Thuc. is of making the leaders of opposing forces answer one another. Here we may imagine Nicias reminding the A. of their naval record, and Hermocrates making this retort.) For πρὸς cf. Steup on III. 48, 2.

15. αἰδίδιον—Classen understands this of the *future*, probably rightly. Cf. II. 41, 5 πανταχοῦ μνημεῖα αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες, that will ‘last for ever.’

16. ἀλλ’—bracketed needlessly by Stahl and Classen. Do not supply ἔχειν, as edd. say, or you will get no antithesis to πάτριον and αἰδίδιον.

ἡπειρώτας—*i.e.* not a naval power. The word is often used of Syr. and indeed of Sicily generally.

18. ὑπὸ Μήδων—because Themistocles persuaded them to build a fleet at the time of the Persian wars.

γενέσθαι—does not go after ἀναγκασθέντας, as it is commonly

taken, but is parallel with ἔχειν. Thus ναυτικούς γ. gives the antithesis we wanted.

19. πρὸς ἄνδρας κ.τ.λ.—it is a fact well known in business that ‘bounce’ is best answered with ‘bounce.’ ‘In dealing with daring men . . . those who in turn show daring appear most formidable.’

οἷους—attracted, as often with short clauses. So in *Oratio Obliqua* short rel. clauses are sometimes attracted into the infin. χαλεπὸς = ‘dangerous,’ as in III. 42, 3.

21. [αὐτοῖς]—prob. spurious, since πρὸς ἄνδρας τ. seems to be put first so as to refer to all that follows.

22. ᾧ—resumed by τὸ αὐτὸ.

ἐκείνοι—i. e. ἄνδρες πολημοί.

οὐ δυνάμει ἔστιν ὅτε—for the omission of μὲν cf. c. 1, 2, l. 30.

23. προύχοντες—this is the Attic word. Thuc. also uses προφέρειν which is Ionic in this sense c. 64, 2; 77, 2.

τῷ—‘their.’

24. σφᾶς—when a plur. subj. of infin. includes the subj. of the main verb as here, whether in whole or in part, it is put either in nom. or accus. at will. Cf. c. 48, 1 ὁ Ν. ἐνόμιζε . . . λαθεῖν ἂν . . . ποιοῦντες. Andoc. 1, 82 has ἐψηφίσασθε . . . δοκιμάσαντας ἀναγράψαι, part of the voters being subj. of the infin.

25. ὑποσχεῖν—we expect rather παρασχεῖν : a rare sense of ὑπ-. See L. and S.; Hesych. ὑπεχε· παρέχε.

§ 4 l. 25. καὶ Συρακοσίου—‘and so he knew that by their unexpected boldness in resisting the A. fleet, the S. would gain much more through the amazement with which their conduct would strike the enemy, than they would lose by their inferiority to the A. in naval skill.’

27. πλέον τι—in II. 11 both πλέον τι and ἀμελέστερόν τι are found; the τι indefinitely increasing the range of the adv. μᾶλλον τι is common.

τὸ τοιοῦτον—such conduct as has been described; a regular use of τοιοῦτος, very common in Aristotle, and a cause of obscurity in his style.

29. ἐπιστήμη . . . ἀπειρίαν—stock antithesis in Thuc.

§ 5 l. 33. εἰ τοῦ ἄλλου—attraction, as Soph. *O. C.* 734 πρὸς πόλιν δ’ ἐπίσταμαι | σθένουσαν ἡκων, εἴ τιν’ Ἑλλάδος, μέγα.

§ 1 l. 1. Ὁ δὲ Γ.—put first for emphasis though the subj. changes below at αἱ τριήρεις. This is fairly common in Gk. and Lat.: cf. Cic. *ad At.* III. 9 *Quintus frater quum ex Asia decessisset, . . . valde fuit ei properandum.*

4. αὐτὸς μὲν—‘while he,’ paratactic.

6. αἱ δὲ τριήρεις—the subj. is presently subdivided into thirty-five and forty-five.

9. αἱ δὲ πέντε—‘the other forty-five of them,’ the art. being often thus added with the items of a sum total.

11. τὸ νεώριον—the docks in the Great Harbour were probably built by Gelon (485-476). ‘It is less clear whether he had any hand in the other haven of the warships, in the Little Harbour. . . . It was only by Dionysius that it was brought to perfection,’ after 405. Freeman.

12. περιέπλεον—i.e. round the south point of Ortygia.

βουλόμενοι—after *τρίρεις*, applying to the men in the ships as usual.

13. ἐντὸς—sc. τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος.

14. ἀμφοτέρωθεν—better, as Classen, = ‘by sea and land’; but Freeman says: ‘the plan was that the one division should sail across the Great Harbour, while the other sailed round the Island, so as to attack the A. fleet unexpectedly on both sides at once.’

§ 2 l. 15. ἀντιπληρώσαντες—antithesis to ἐπλήρουν c. 21, end. Abresch compares βάλλειν and ἀντι- c. 25, πολιορκεῖν and ἀντι- c. 28, παρατάσσειν and ἀντι- c. 5.

23

16. ταῖς μὲν—again the art. in giving the parts of a whole.  
§ 1 l. 3. ἐπικαταβάντων—gone down to the shore to watch the battle.

5. προσπεσῶν—before the garrisons left in them and the men on the shore could arm.

7. πρῶτον—adjective (for nothing further happens to τὸ μέγιστον).

§ 2 l. 11. τοῦ πρώτου ἀλόντος—‘that which was first taken,’ πρώτου being predicate in spite of its order. Cf. c. 13, 2.

14. στρατόπεδον—‘here means the space between the A. walls on the other side of the harbour.’ Freeman.

ἐξεκομίζοντο—‘were getting away.’

19. ἡλίσκετο . . . ἐτύγχανον—the two *imperfects* mark the events as simultaneous. This would not be so with ἐπειδὴ if aor. were used. See note on c. 3, 3.

20. οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν φεύγοντες—cf. Andoc. οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφευγον. Attraction of the preposition is very rare in Latin; e.g. Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 1 ex illo cubiculo, ex quo . . . tempora consumpseris, for *in illo* . . .

21. παρέπλευσαν—‘sailed past,’ and so across the harbour.

§ 3 l. 23. ναυμαχοῦσαι—this order of the attributive partic. is only possible when the noun has other attributes besides the partic. ; here πρὸ τοῦ σ.

25. περὶ ἀλλήλας—prepositions with ἑαυτοὺς, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλήλους are used to express reciprocity unless there is a compound of διὰ available.

παρέδοσαν—‘gave away.’



26. *καὶ ὑφ' ὧν*—for *καὶ ἐκείνας ὑφ' ὧν*. The antecedent can always be omitted, but the rel., unless it be either in the nom. or else governed by a prep., is regularly attracted. Thus in II. 61 for *ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε* we should prob. read *ἐ. οἷς ἔγνωτε*.

§ 4 l. 29. *πλήν ὄσον*—sc. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦν*, a part of *εἰμι* being constantly omitted after *ὄσος*.

33. *νησιδίῳ*—‘the ceremony was gone through on one of the small islets off Plemmyriōn; but it was the last act of the invaders on that side of the Syr. harbour.’ Freeman.

34. *στρατόπεδον*—as l. 14 above.

§ 1 l. 2. *οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν*—used of a bad result, as in 24 II. 4.

3. *τροπαῖα ἔστησαν αὐτῶν*—the regular construction.

7. *ἐπισκευάσαντες*—see on c. 1, 1.

§ 2 l. 8. *ἐν τῶν τειχῶν τῇ ἀλώσει*—Classen notes that Herod. and Thuc. are fond of inserting the gen. between a prep. and its case.

10.  *χρήματα*—‘*bona*, non *pecuniae*.’ Haacke.

12. *πολλὰ μὲν . . . πολλὰ δὲ*—Thuc. does not use this *anaphora* so elaborately as most writers. The instances in him are simple, like *εἰ μὲν . . . εἰ δέ, ἅμα μὲν . . . ἅμα δέ*. For *πολλὰι μὲν . . . πολλὰι δέ* cf. VI. 20, 4. Eur. *Rhes*. 311 has a fourfold *anaphora* with *πολύς*.

*ἐμπόρων*—some from Greece, some from Sicily.

15. *ἐγκατελήφθη*—similar compounds in Thuc. are *ἐγκαταλείπω*, *ἐγκαθέζομαι*, *ἐγκαθίστημι*, *ἐγκαθορμίζομαι*, *ἐγκατοικοδομεῖν*, *ἐγκατασκήπτειν*.

§ 3 l. 19. *οἱ ἔσπλοι*—because the S. now commanded the mouth of the harbour.

22. *διὰ μάχης . . . ἐγίγνοντο*—cf. *διὰ μάχης ἰέναι* II. 11; Eur. *Helen*. 978. See also on c. 8, 3. (See Wecklein on Aesch. *P. V.* 121.)

23. *ἔς τε*—the *τε* is not correlative with either of the preceding negs., but simply joins the sentences, this being a use of *τε* that gradually fell out of Attic prose.

§ 1 l. 5. *ὥπερ . . . φράσουσιν*—purpose.

6. *ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσὶ*—cf. below § 6, and *ἐν ἐλπίδι* c. 46. The opposite is *ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ* or *ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι*.

§ 2 l. 10. *τῶν τε π. ἐπιτυχούσαι*—Thuc. uses the dat. also with *ἐπιτυγχάνω*.

12. *Καυλωνιάτιδι*—‘neighbourhood of Caulonia’ in Bruttii. The whole of this region was *πολύδενδρος*, and contained *ξύλα ἄφθονα*, VI. 90. Pythagoras lived there when driven from Croton.

§ 4 l. 18. *φυλάξαντες*—for this sense, cf. c. 83 *τῆς νυκτὸς φ. τὸ ἡσυχάζον*.

19. **Μεγάροις**—Hyblæan M. : it was the fourth site on which settled the emigrants from Megara in Greece.

21. **ἀποφεύγουσιν**—sudden change of subj.; cf. on c. 4, 4.

§ 5 l. 3. **νεωσοίκων**—prob. built by Gelon, the second founder of Syracuse. See on c. 22, 1, l. 11. The piles had been driven in during the winter of 415.

§ 6 l. 29. **μυριοφόρον**—‘of 10,000 talents’ burden,’ assuming with Arnold that a talent was the ordinary unit of weight: but the matter is not certain. Lobeck conj. *μυριαμφόρον*, but the form is well attested.

32. **ᾠνευον**—‘drew up with windlasses’ (*ὄνοι*).

36. **ὀλκάδος**—i.e. the *ναὺς μυριοφόρος*. Notice again the attraction of *έκ*.

§ 7 l. 38. **τῆς σταυρώσεως ἡ κρύβιος**—‘the hidden part of the stockade,’ the adj. assimilated, as with *πολύς, ἡμισύς*, sometimes *ὅσος*.

**ῆσαν . . . οὖς**—see on c. 11, 2, l. 10.

40. **δεινὸν**—‘dangerous.’

**μή . . . περιβάλῃ**—epexegetic of *προσπλεύσαι*, and so depending on *δεινὸν ἦν*.

41. **περὶ ἔρμα**—cf. the fine lines of the Furies in Aesch. *Eum.* 554 δι’ αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον ἔρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας ὤλετ’ ἄκλανστος. Anacreon ἀσήμεων ὑπὲρ ἐρμάτων φορεῖμαι.

§ 8 l. 44. **πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα**—M. W. Humphreys examines this phrase in *Class. Rev.* v. 431, and concludes that *καὶ* is not needed in connecting *ἄλλος* with *πολύς*, and that when it is inserted, it means ‘also.’ He shows that *ἄλλοι πολλοὶ* is very common and *πολλοὶ ἄλλοι* not rare.

**οἶον εἰκὸς**—note the phrase and cf. *εἰκότως*.

47. **πείραις**—‘stratagems.’ Bloomfield notes that *πεῖρα* implies trickery. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 2 *πεῖράν τιν’ ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάσαι*.

§ 9 l. 48. **πόλεις**—of their allies in Sicily.

**πρέσβεις . . . Κορινθίων**—not Syracusans, in order that greater credence might be given to the message (Haacke).

50. **ἀγγέλλοντας**—see on c. 3, 1.

52. **τῆς ναυμαχίας περί**—they would of course not send an embassy round to report the defeat (this would be *τὴν ναυμαχίαν*), but, as the news was sure to spread, to give explanations.

55. **δηλώσοντας**—the constr. changes from pres. to fut., as in II. 44 οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθῆσομαι; cf. Tac. *An.* I. 18 *interficietis quam desciscitis*.

57. **ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς**—‘against the A.’

60. **διαπεπολεμησόμενον**—the accus. abs. joined to gen. as in c. 15, 1, and Plato, *Rep.* p. 604 B ὡς οὔτε δήλου ὄντος . . . οὔτε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν οὐδὲν προβαῖνον. Cf. Livy 23, 13 *debellatum fore* (fut. perf. infin. pass.), *si adniti voluissent*.

61. ἔπρασσον—of negociation or diplomacy, as often.

§ 1 l. 1. ξυνελέγη αὐτῷ—continues from c. 20, 3. It is likely 26 that the dat. in this construction is by origin a dat. of *possession*, like ἐστὶ μοι, just as much as the dat. of the ‘agent’ with perf. passives; since we find *occasionally* such a phrase as τὰ πραχθέντ’ αὐτῷ for ‘his acts’ instead of τὰ πεπραγμέν’ αὐτῷ. So we can trans. ‘when *his* forces had mustered.’

5. Χαρικλεί—see c. 20.

§ 2 l. 10. Ἐπιδαύρου—cf. c. 18, 3. This descent on E. repeated and emphasized the A. action of the preceding year.

11. τὰ καταντικρὺ—‘at a point on the Laconian coast opposite K., at a spot marked by the temple of Apollôn,’ as Freeman says. Grote (see margin) wrongly says ‘on the island.’

§ 3 l. 18. ξυγκατέλαβε—with Charicles.

§ 1 l. 1. μαχαιροφόρων—the wearing of dirks is a well-known 27 custom of some of the Thracian tribes.

2. τοῦ Διακοῦ—the Dii were independent and lived mostly in the region of the Rhodope or Despoto mountains.

4. οὐς ἔδει—‘should have,’ according to arrangement. *M.T.* 415.

§ 2 l. 6. ὕστερον—‘too late,’ as in ὕστερον παρεγένοντο, ἦλθον.

7. ὅθεν—antecedent omitted, as in Demosth. 45, 81 ἀνάγειν ὅθεν εἰληφας. Andoc. 1, 64 ἔλαβον ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι ταῦτ’ ἐποίουν.

8. ἔχειν—‘keep.’

τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δ. πόλεμον—‘the incursions from D.’; not the same as ὁ Δεκελεικὸς πόλεμος, as ancient authors call the war from 413.

10. δραχμῇν—double the ordinary pay of a hoplite.

§ 3 l. 11. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ—‘from the time that D. was occupied for the injury of the country, at first by the whole army, after being fortified by it during this summer, and afterwards by garrisons relieving one another at fixed intervals.’ (This trans. takes ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς σ. both with τειχισθεῖσα and with ἐπωκείτο, not, as is usually done, with τειχισθεῖσα only.)

13. φρουραῖς—replacing the gen. with ὑπό.

16. ἔβλαπτε—the subj. to be supplied is ἡ Δ. τειχισθεῖσα.

17. ὀλέθρῳ—a strong word, ‘devastation,’ like the *vastitas Italiae* which Hannibal saw in a vision. ὀλεθρος is not generally used with things; it is as though a pest were destroying their resources.

§ 4 l. 19. βραχεῖαι—the average duration of the previous invasions had only been about a month, *i.e.* as long as provisions held out.

23. ὅτε μὲν . . . ὅτε δὲ—does not occur elsewhere in good

Attic prose. Xen. *Hier.* 1, 5 has ἔστι μὲν ὅτε . . . ἔστι δ' ὅτε, and the edd. compare Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 59 A ὅτ' ἐστι μὲν . . . ἐνίοτε δὲ and *Theaet.* p. 207 D ὅτ' ἐστι μὲν . . . τότε δέ.

πλειόνων ἐπιόντων—viz. arriving from the Peloponnese to overrun Attica. The Spartans expected the occupation of Decelea would at once cripple the A. in Sicily. It did not do so: therefore special efforts were from time to time made by sending extra troops. The A. had done much the same at the beginning of the war in the case of Potidaea.

24. ἐξ ἀνάγκης—‘of necessity,’ to provision the garrison.

τῆς ἴσης φρουρᾶς—‘the normal garrison’; in ἴσης he is thinking of the successive garrisons.

27. οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου—*non obiter*. His father Archidamus had been accused of slackness in his conduct of the war.

§ 5 l. 29. τῆς . . . χώρας . . . ἐστέρηντο—στερεῖν is to withhold something forcibly or fraudulently from its owner; as Demosth. speaks of himself as ἐστερημένος τῶν πατρῶν by his guardians.

35. ἐν γῇ ἀποκρότῳ—with ἀπεχλωλύντο; the two causes being expressed in different constructions, as often. Xen. in his treatise on riding refers to the roughness of the ground in parts of Attica, and gives advice to riders.

36. ξυνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦντες—‘by continual fatigue.’

28 § 1 l. 3. Ὠρωποῦ—at this time O. belonged to Athens. It fell into the hands of Boeotia in 412.

5. πολυτελής—the question of finance was now becoming serious. Want of money finally ruined A. in the war.

τῶν τε πάντων—‘so all that the city needed had to be imported, and thus it ceased to be a city and became a fortress.’

§ 2 l. 8. τῇ ἐπάλξει—collective, as in II. 13. So Livy 23, 16, 8 uses *vallum ferre* for *vallos f.*

11. ἐφ’ ὅπλοις που—‘at camping-stations here and there.’ ὅπλα are military posts *within* the city, as distinct from τὸ τεῖχος, which stands for the fortifications generally, being used collectively. (One must agree with Müller-Strübing that που is whimsical and poor. If it is genuine, Thuc. is at fault.)

§ 3 l. 16. τό γ’ ἄν—the following clauses, (1) ἀποστήναι, (2) ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, (3) ποιῆσαι, are in explanatory apposition to the preceding ἦν, which = φιλονικίαν. The ἄν belongs to all three clauses. Hence what would have seemed incredible is this: εἰ αὐτοὶ πολιορκοῖντο . . . , οὐδ’ ἄν ὥς ἀποσταίεν ἐκ Σ., ἀλλὰ . . . ἀντιπολιορκοῖεν ἄν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄν τὸν παράλογον ποιήσειαν κ.τ.λ. Hence, trans. literally, ‘And yet (though they had two wars) their pertinacity was such that no man before it was experienced would have believed the account of it, that, even if they were themselves besieged by the P. by means of a



permanent occupation, they would not even so withdraw from S., but would in turn lay siege in the same manner to Syr. (a city which taken alone is as large as A.) and would astonish the Greeks with such a display of strength and audacity that, whereas at the beginning of the war the Greeks generally supposed that they would hold out perhaps for a year, perhaps for two years, possibly for three, but certainly not longer than three, if the P. should invade Attica, they on the contrary in the seventeenth year after the first invasion should actually go to S. . . . and voluntarily take on themselves another war.'

18. **μηδ' ὥς**—ὥς (= οὕτως) only appears in prose in καὶ ὥς, οὐδ' ὥς, μηδ' ὥς; occasionally before οὖν, as III. 37, 5.

20. **αὐτήν γε καθ' αὐτήν**—i.e. without reckoning Sparta at all; that is to say, Syr. would have been a big city for A. to besiege even if she were not herself in difficulties at the time. (Others think this means (a) without counting the Athenian empire, (b) without reckoning allies on either side.)

21. **τοσοῦτον**—answered by ὅσον.

22. **ὅσον**—when two things, persons, or sets of persons are compared by means of τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον, there are often two clauses following the ὅσον: these two clauses are then themselves contrasted by μὲν and δέ—here <οἱ μὲν> . . . οἱ δέ ἔτει—and they describe the extent of the difference between the two things compared in the τοσοῦτον clause. (See Appendix II.) Here 'the A. astonished the Greek world so much that the Greek world thought they would hold out a year or two, whereas the A. after all these years undertook the Sicilian expedition.'

23. <οἱ μὲν> . . . οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ . . . οἱ δέ . . . γε . . . οἱ δέ—when these particles are thus repeated, it is usual to find the extremes contrasted; as here <οἱ μὲν> and the last οἱ δέ, i.e. the Greeks at large and Athens. The first <οἱ μὲν> is subdivided in the clauses that follow it.

24. **οἱ δέ τριῶν γε ἔτων**—δέ γε or δέ . . . γε caps a previous statement. οὐδεὶς is in limiting apposition to οἱ δέ, and τριῶν ἔτων is gen. of comparison.

27. **τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολὴν**—in June 431.

28. **ἤλθον**—Thuc. here proceeds as if he had said τοσοῦτον τὸν παράλογον ἐποίησαν instead of τοσοῦτον τὸν π. ποιῆσαι ἂν—shifting the point of view which was that of a person hearing of such vigour before he actually witnessed it.

**τῷ πολέμῳ . . . τετραχωμένοι**—at the time of the expedition A. had been recovering for seven years; but Thuc. here thinks of the state of A. in 415 as contrasted with her state in 431.

§ 41. 31. **δι' αὐ**—the plur. because he sums up all the causes that led to their impoverisation, namely the losses of *individuals*

and the losses of the *treasury* resulting from the *φιλονικία* above described.

**καὶ τότε**—other causes of impoverisation are now added, namely those resulting from the fortification of Decelea. ‘For these reasons and because of the serious damage which was being then caused by D. and the other expenses that fell heavily on them.’

32. **ὑπὸ τῆς Δ. . . . βλαπτούσης**—this construction, in which the partic. has the force of a verbal subst., is less common in Gk. than in Latin (*ante urbem conditam*). It seems that it is not used unless the noun and prep. would make sense *without the partic.*; the only exception being ἅμα with expressions of time. Cf. c. 42, 2 διὰ τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχιζομένην; II. 49 μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα. It is oftenest found with ἅμα, μετὰ with accus., and ἐπὶ with gen., as Herod. I. 15 ἐπὶ τούτου τυραννεύοντος. (See Gildersleeve in *A. J. P.* July '92.)

33. **τῶν . . . προσπιπτόντων**—gen. abs., the two causes being again differently expressed.

34. **ἀδύνατοι . . . τοῖς χρήμασι**—on the analogy of δύνατος and δύναμαι with dat.

35. **τὴν εἰκοστὴν**—a tax of five per cent on all imports and exports within the A. empire. Probably this system lasted, with the exception of Chalcedon (? others), to the end of the war. εἰκοστολόγοι were appointed to collect it in the different ports, and, according to Aristophanes, they sometimes carried on smuggling on their own account; and Aegina seems to have become a sort of depot for contraband goods smuggled out of Attic territory to the Peloponnese. Aegina was a free port. (Cf. Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens*, p. 286.) The establishment of the εἰκοστή is the beginning of important financial reforms.

40. **καὶ πρὶν**—‘as before.’

41. **πολλῶ μείζους . . . ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων**—a double compar. or superl. is the way to express *proportion*. Cf. I. 68 προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν; c. 41, 3.

29 § 1 l. 1. **τῷ Δ. ὑστερήσαντας**—‘who came too late for D. to use them.’

5. **Διειτρέφει**—Pausanias I. 23 describes a statue at Athens of D. pierced with arrows, presumably in the act of regaining his ship (see c. 30, 1) after the barbarous slaughter of the children of Mycalessus. The inscribed base of this statue is extant.

6. **εἰπόντες . . . βλάψαι**—λέγω is constructed with accus. and infin. regularly (a) when it = *κελεύω*, as here: (b) when used in the sense of *ferunt, fertur*. It is then oftener in the

*pass.*, but the *act.* is found so. When Thuc. wants to imply that a statement is false, he says λέγεται ὥς. Instances of λέγω with accus. and infin. in the sense of φημί are not common.

§ 2 l. 11. Χαλκίδος — after ravaging the country round Tanagra, they had crossed to Euboea.

ἀφ' ἑσπέρας—cf. ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕπνου c. 43, 2.

13. Μυκαλησσόν—the destruction of this town, so ancient that its foundation was said to be contemporary with Cadmus, was in every way disgraceful and revolting. Pausanias says the place was in ruins in his day, and there are still considerable remains both of the acropolis and of the lower town.

§ 3 l. 14. Ἑρμαῖω—'shrine of H.' on the road from the coast to Thebes.

18. ἀπροσδοκήτοις=οὐ προσδεχομένοις, active. Many adj. have both an act. and pass. meaning, e.g. φοβερός, ἀδής, προστρόπαιος, and so in Lat. *formidolosus*, etc. Sallust, *Cat.* 39, 2. Cf. on c. 42, 3, line 24.

21. ἔστιν ἦ . . . τοῦ δὲ—cf. c. 2, 4.

βραχέος ᾠκοδομημένου—cf. II. 34, 8 βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον.

§ 4 l. 26. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους—Pausanias says that a man would have searched in vain in his day for descendants of the inhabitants of Mycalessus.

28. πάντας . . . ὅτω—like ἕκαστος, οὐδεὶς, πᾶς τις, τις referring to a plur.

32. ὁμοῖα—for ὁμοίως, as several times in Herod., but in no other Attic prose author. Thuc. also has ἴσα for ἴσως.

33. τοῖς μάλιστα—sc. φονικοῖς. This idiom is found also in Herod. and in late writers. Josephus speaks of a man called by the Jews Θρακίδαν διὰ τὴν τῆς ὠμότητος ὑπερβολήν.

ἐν ᾧ ἂν—'whenever,' ἐν ᾧ describing all the attendant circumstances.

θαρσύση—ingressive

§ 5 l. 35. ιδέα πᾶσα—Thuc. is fond of this expression.

37. καὶ ἄρτι ἔτυχον—notice that the rel. is dropped in the second clause, as very often. Generally, however, a demonstrative is added instead, as in II. 4 δ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ θύραι ἔτυχον ἀνεωγμένα αὐτοῦ. Cf. Hooker in the *Ecclcs. Pol.* 'Whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name.' Also 'Whose fan is in His hand and He will thoroughly purge His floor.' Livy, 23, 8 *Cum quo . . . steterat, nec cum . . . patria majestas sententia depulerat.*

37-8. ἔτυχον . . . ἐσεληλυθότες—the perf. is necessary to make the partic. precede ἔτυχον (ἔλαθον ἔφθασα) in time; as in II. 4 ἔτυχον . . . ἀνεωγμένα.

38. κατέκοψαν πάντας—Freeman well says that this 'deed

of blood outdid all crimes of Greek against Greek, and sent a shudder through all Hellas.' But, after all, Napoleon III. got the throne of France by acts as infamous.

ξυμφορὰ . . . αὐτῇ—'this was a calamity to the whole city unparalleled in severity, and fell upon it with singular suddenness and horror.' Each of the expressions appended to ξυμφορὰ adds a new point: (a) it was universal—πάσῃ, (b) it was greater than others—οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων, (c) it was quite sudden and very horrible.

39. οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων—i.e. 'greater than any,' as in Aesch. *P. V.* 1013 (αὐθαδία) αὐτὴ καὶ αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς μείζον σθένει = 'less than anything.' Demosth. 1, 27 ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσι. Cf. cc. 71 and 85. Note that ἥσσων ἢ μηδὲν would mean 'less than (the abstract idea of) nothing.'

30 μᾶλλον ἐτέρας—a common idiom in place of a superlative.

§ 1 l. 3. προκεχωρηκότας—on the return march to the coast.

5. ἀφείλοντο . . . καταδιώκουσιν—see on c. 3, 4.

§ 2 l. 8. ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλείστους—it appears below that, out of 1200, the number of those killed was 250. Hence the sense 'most of those who were killed fell whilst embarking.'

10. ἔξω τοξεύματος—'out of range,' Xen. *Cyr.* I. 4, 23, like ἔξω βελῶν. Eur. *Orest.* 1531 εἶσω ξίφους. Livy, 22, 15, 8 *priusquam ad coniectum telī veniret*.

11. ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ ἄλλῃ—'whereas elsewhere in the retreat they ran forward from the line and closed in together and protected themselves with skill after the fashion of their country against the Th. cavalry . . ., and so only a few of them fell during this.'

16. ἐν τούτῳ—neut., like ἐν ῳ c. 29, 4.

18. τῶν Θρακῶν—depends on πεντήκοντα καὶ δ.

19. ἀπὸ—cf. c. 87, 6 ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν.

22. βοιωταρχῶν—Thebes elected two of the eleven chiefs of the Boeotian confederacy.

26. ὥς ἐπὶ μεγέθει—*pro civitatis magnitudine*, Portus: but it is uncertain whether τῆς πόλεως or τοῦ πάθους should be supplied. See Classen on c. 113, 4.

27. ὀλοφύρασθαι ἀξίῳ—in Lat. with *dignus*, *aptus*, the infin. is used only in poetry and Silver prose. Also the pass. infin. is used, while in Gk. the act. or mid. is regular.

31 § 1 l. 1. τότε—refers to c. 26, 3.

2. ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς—the prep. is attracted to ἀποπλέων.

3. Φειᾶ—now Katakolo, the landing-place for visitors to Olympia.

6. ἐπλεον—'proceeded on the voyage.'

§ 2 l. 8. Ζάκυνθον καὶ Κ.—the policy and interests of



Zacynthus coincided with those of Corcyra. In 430 Sparta made an effort to obtain Z., but failed. Cephallenia, after remaining for a time neutral, joined Athens in the autumn of 431. Pericles had seen that the possession of the islands which lay on the road to Sicily was of extreme importance, and already in 433 he began to form alliances with them. This was not with a view to invading Sicily, but to prevent Sparta from obtaining help from Syracuse, her ally, and from controlling the route to Sicily.

9. τῶν Μεσσηνίων—sc. ὀπλίτας.

11. Ἀκαρνανίας—all Acarnania, except Oeniadae, had made an alliance with Athens in the autumn of 430, and Demosthenes himself had taken Oeniadae into the alliance in 424.

12. Ἀλύξειαν—near the coast of Acarnania. Here Timotheus, son of Conon, set up his trophy in 375 during his successful voyage to restore Athenian supremacy in the north-west.

Ἀνακτόριον—had been an ally of Sparta; but it was seized by the Athenians at Naupactus and the Acarnanians in 425. Hence αὐτοὶ=οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

§ 3 l. 14. περὶ ταῦτα—‘occupied in this.’ περὶ is much commoner in this sense than ἀμφί, which prep. occurs only twice in Thuc. and not at all in the Orators.

15. τότε—see c. 16, 2. τότε is often used in referring back to what has been already mentioned. Cf. c. 31, 1; 81, 2.

18. κατὰ πλοῦν—cf. καθ’ ὁδόν, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν.

§ 4 l. 21. Κόνων—the admiral and statesman who opposed Thrasybulus at the end of the war. After Aegospotami he lived in exile in Cyprus. In 394 he won the battle of Cnidus after which he rebuilt the walls of Athens. He was probably sent to Naupactus in 414.

24. κατοκινούσι—the MSS. καταλύουσι is not appropriate, because there could be no question of bringing the war to an end, since the fortification of Decelea. (Classen’s explanation is that war was not yet declared between Athens and the Peloponnesians. But, if not, between whom is ὁ πόλεμος? It certainly had not been declared between the Corinthian ships and the A. squadron.)

25. πέμπειν—the request points to the decline of Athenian naval supremacy.

ὥς . . . οὕτως—‘even the partic. of *personal* verbs sometimes stand with their nouns in the accus. abs. . . if they are preceded by ὥς or ὥσπερ.’ *M. T.* 853.

26. δυοῖν θεούσας εἴκοσι—the number of A. ships at Naupactus was generally twenty.

§ 5 l. 31. τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν ξ.—cf. c. 24, 2. περὶ governs τὸν ξ.

36. ἀποτραπόμενος—‘turning back’ from his homeward voyage. Fr. Müller renders ‘after his return from Sicily.’

ὥσπερ καὶ ἤρέθη—not as στρατηγός, which office he had held since Hecatombaeon 414, while the *election* was probably early in 414, but as colleague, ξυνάρχων, of Demosth. in this expedition.

32 § 1 l. 1. οἱ δὲ . . . πρέσβεις—the subj. is again placed first for emphasis, in spite of ὁ Νικίας below. Cf. III. 4, 1. It is not common.

τότε—as in c. 31, 3.

μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Π. ἄλωσιν—why would not μετὰ Πλημμύριον ἡρημένον do? See on c. 28, 4, l. 32.

3. οἰχόμενοι—attributive, though not under the art.

6. τοὺς τὴν δ. ἔχοντας—‘who commanded the route.’

8. Κεντόριπας—Centuripa, now Centorbi, a very ancient Sicel town S.W. of Etna, of which it commands a splendid view.

Ἀλικυαίους—the only Alicyae known in Sicily is in the N.W. and cannot be meant here.

9. διαφρήσωσι—a rare word, but well attested by the explanations given of it by ancient grammarians.

11. πειράσειν—see on c. 12, 2. In Attic πειρῶμαι=*conari*, and only Herod. and Thuc. among prose authors use the act.=*conari*.

12. Ἀκραγαντῖνοι—the great Sicel leader Ducetius had attacked Acragas, which sought aid from Syr. 451. But Ducetius defeated the two. Then he was defeated by Syr., and sent to live at Corinth. He was allowed to return in 446, to the disgust of Acragas, which now retained its jealousy of Syr.

§ 2 l. 16. ἀφυλάκτοις τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης—the circumstances are differently expressed, as in c. 18, 1. Cf. Tacitus *An.* 1, 23 *fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans*.

33 § 1 l. 1. Καμαριναῖοι—C. had previously been neutral. Its relations with Syr. had not been satisfactory. Originally an outpost of Syr., it had revolted from its mother-city and had been destroyed circ. 550. Subsequently it became part of Gela. In 484 Gelon transferred its population to Syr.; and in 461 it was re-colonised by Gela.

6. Γελῶι—they had previously promised to send στρατιὰν οὐ πολλήν c. 1, 4. In 498 Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, defeated the Syr.: his successor Gelon transferred his seat to Syr.

8. σχεδόν τι—‘almost,’ since some towns still remained faithful to A.: see c. 57, 11.

§ 2 l. 9. οὐδὲ μεθ’ ἑτέρων—regular phrase for ‘neutral.’

10. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι—this resumes the subject πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία

after the parenthesis. Cf. Andoc. i. 78, in the psephism of Patroclides, ὅσα ὀνόματα τῶν τετρακοσίων τινὸς ἐγγέγραπται . . . πλὴν ὅποσα ἐν στήλαις γέγραπται . . . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐξαλειψαί.

§ 3 l. 14. ἐπέσχον τὸ . . . ἐπιχειρεῖν — ‘refrained from attacking.’ (Some edd. wrongly compare II. 81, 4 οὔτ’ ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, where if the text is sound the sense must be ‘did not intend to occupy the camp,’ not ‘did not refrain from occupying a camp.’)

19. τὸν Ἴόνιον—sc. κόλπον.

§ 4 l. 21. Χοιράδας—two islands off Tarentum.

23. Μεσσαπίου — one of the three divisions of Iapygia, Messapia, extended from Tarentum to Brundisium.

25. Ἄρτα—he seems to have been a man of note in his day; for Athenaeus refers to him as μέγας καὶ λαμπρός.

δυναστής—suggested a foreign, un-Greek form of government. Hence the bad sense of δυναστεία, which is used, for instance, of the Thirty.

27. Μεταπόντιον—there are ruins of a temple on the site. The Romans destroyed it for having sided with Hannibal. Pausanias saw a theatre and walls standing. Pythagoras died there.

§ 5 l. 30. ἀναλαβόντες ταῦτα—‘taking these with them’; the neut. is used as in c. 14, 2.

31. Θουρίαν—on the site of Sybaris. In 193 B.C. it became a Latin Colony—called Copia—after the great extension of the *ager Romanus* in Bruttii. Thurii was colonised by Athens in 443. Herodotus was among the colonists.

34. εἴ τις ὑπελέλειπτο—best taken with ἄθροίσαντες.

36. ἐν τούτῳ τύχης—the expulsion of the anti-Athenian party would make an offensive and defensive alliance possible.

§ 1 l. 3. τῶν ὀλκάδων—depends on κομιδῆς.

6. ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία—Thuc. uses also ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. Similarly ἐπὶ is used with either the gen. or dat. of place in the same phrases.

7. ἔτι—of additional ships.

8. ἐλάσσους . . . τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν—this might have been ἐ. τῶν Ἀθηναίων, i.e. ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Cf. VIII. 53 ναὺς οὐκ ἐλάσσους σφῶν ἔχουσι.

9. κατα Ἐρινεὸν—east of Rhium, which, with Antirrhium on the opposite coast, commanded the entrance to the Gulf. Had the Corinthians been superior in numbers, they would have lain off Rhium, S.W. of Naupactus, and have tried to shut in the A.

§ 2 l. 10. καὶ αὐτοῖς—the dative is put early to contrast it with οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι below.

14. αὐτόθεν—from Achaea, which had originally been neutral, but in 417 joined Sparta.

ἀνεχούσαις—see L. and S., B.; cf. Herod. vii. 123 πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα. The meaning is common in Pausanias.

16. Πολυάνθης—prob. the same as the P. to whom, according to Xenophon, Tithraustes sent a bribe in order to bring about a war against Sparta.

§ 3 l. 17. τριάκοντα . . . καὶ τρισίν—in c. 31, 4 the number is given as eighteen. Demosth. had added ten; and the rest must have come with Diphilus.

§ 5 l. 25. ἀπλῶς—with κατέδν, ‘absolutely.’ (Holden takes this with οὐδεμία, but there is no reason for emphasising this.)

ἐπτά δέ τινες—the τινες shows he was not certain of the exact number.

26. ἐμβαλλόμεναι—technically the ἐμβολή was a charge broadside with the ἐμβολον; προσβολή a charge prow to prow.

29. ἐπωτίδας—τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν πῶρας ἐξέχοντα ξύλα, Schol. The anchors hung from them.

§ 6 l. 30. ἀντίπαλα—internal accus., defining the verb. Hence=ἀντίπαλον ναυμαχίαν. The plur. presents the details.

ὥς—the only case in which Thuc. uses ὥς for ὥστε. The use is common in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herod., Xen.

31. αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρους—the nom. would be more regular; but the subjects are not really identical, since the infin. clause is meant to be *general*. It appears from what follows that the A. did not finally consider themselves victors.

33. αὐτῶν=τῶν ναυαγίων. For the two gens. cf. i. 25 κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας. See Classen on iii. 116, 6.

34. οὐκέτι—note (1) the adv. qualifying the noun: it is common with the neg., and verbal nouns often take the construction of the verb, as ii. 65 ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή: (2) the use of οὐκέτι, denoting a change of purpose or a disappointment of expectation.

§ 7 l. 43. οἱ ἕτεροι—sc. ἐνόμισαν.

44. οἷ τε . . . οἷ τ’—the double τε shows that the two clauses are exactly parallel. Thuc. is fond of this τε . . . τε joining two concurrent acts.

45. κρατεῖν εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.—this is not a mere subtlety. The naval superiority of the A., esp. at Naupactus, had been so repeatedly acknowledged that the Cor. rightly considered that not to be beaten constituted a victory.

47. ὅτι οὐ π. ἐνίκων—the indic. shows that Thuc. states this as a fact: νικῶεν would mean that the A. reflected οὐ νικῶμεν.

35. § 1 l. 2. παρεσκευάσθησαν—‘had been induced.’ This is



undoubtedly the meaning, and it is common in the Orators, though there it generally implies underhand dealing. *E.g.* Demosth. 20, 145 πεισθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ διεγράψατο ἢ καὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ σοῦ παρεσκευάσθη; and παρασκευῇ constantly has a bad sense.

6. τὸν πέζον—for τὸν π. στρατόν. The ellipse of a masc. non-personal noun is rare. This one is found only in Herod. and Thuc.

8. τῷ Σ. ποταμῷ—it gave its name to the ancient Sybaris, on the site of which Thurii now stood. Cf. the Gelas and Gela. The art. is usual when ποταμὸς is inserted with names of rivers. It is, however, often omitted by Herod. and now and then by Thuc.

§ 2 l. 11. οὐκ ἂν . . . βουλομένοις εἶναι—the same idiom is found in Lat. with *volenti esse*. The only instance of any other verb than *volo* is in Tac. *An.* 1. 59 *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat*.

12. εἶναι—rare use of infin. after λέγω in *O.O.*: even here εἶπον implies a formal notice, as also in II. 13 λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι. But the infin. is occasionally used loosely with λέγω.

ἐπικαταβάντες . . . πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν—the object of partic. and verb is, as usual, accommodated to the partic.

17. Δοκρῶν—they had refused to receive the A. from the first.

Πέτραν = Leucopetra.

§ 1 l. 2. αὐτοῖς—referring to the previous sea-fight.

3. ἄλλῃ—‘as well,’ cf. c. 4, 3.

4. παρασκευῇ—‘force.’

τοῦ πέζου—what is called the gen. of material. Rutherford *Syn.* § 106.

5. πρὶν ἐλθεῖν—depends on φθάσαι. πρὶν regularly takes aor. infin. unless *continuance* or *attempt* is implied.

6. ξυνέλεγον—equivalent to pluperf. in a rel. clause. It is like the historic pres. for aor.

§ 2 l. 8. ὡς—‘in such a manner as would give them the advantage according to what they had learned from the former battle.’

8-9. τι πλέον . . . σχήσοντες—cf. πλέον τί ἐστι with dat., and πλέον τι ποιεῖν. Cf. on § 5, l. 36.

9. ἐναῖδεν—‘to learn by experience’ in action.

10. ξυντερόντες ἐς ἔλασσον—‘shortening.’

13. ἀντήριδας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν—stays of timber which extended from the cat-heads through the sides of the ship, and projected nine feet both ways, inside and outside.

14. τοῖχος—wall of a building: τεῖχος wall of a town. For a similar distinction cf. τέμαχος slice of fish: τόμος slice of meat.

16. **πρώραθεν**—with *ἐπισκευασάμενοι*, ‘strengthening them at the prow.’

§ 3 l. 19. **διὰ τὸ μὴ**—‘because they rowed round and struck the enemy broadside, and did not meet him prow to prow.’

22. **οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ**—for *ἐν οὐ πολλῷ*: cf. II. 102, and *μὴ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ* II. 17, 2.

23. **πρὸς ἑαυτῶν**—so *πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων* c. 49, 2. Not a common use.

26. **πρὸς κοῖλα**—sc. *τὰ ἔμβολα*.

§ 4 l. 28. **σφῶν**—with *περίπλουν οὔτε δ*. For the order cf. II. 5, 5 *σφῶν πειραθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν*. It is put in contrast with *Ἀθηναίους*.

29. **περίπλουν**—the manœuvre of rowing round and ‘boring’ the enemy’s vessels into a small space, so as to throw them into confusion.

**διέκπλουν**—the manœuvre of ‘rowing through the intervals of the adversary’s line, and thus getting in their rear, . . . and before the ship of the adversary could change its position, of striking it either in the stern, or in some weak part.’ Grote. It is first heard of in Herod. vi. 12.

**ᾧπερ τῆς τέχνης**—‘which were the very manœuvres on which they depended most.’

30. **αὐτοὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**—‘for they themselves as far as possible would not, on the one hand, give them a chance of breaking their line, while the want of pace, on the other hand, would prevent them from boring them in.’

31. **τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ**—adverbial, as *τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ*.

**οὐ δώσειν διέκπλουν**—so II. 83, 5 *οὐ διδόντες διέκπλουν*.

33. **κωλύσειν ὥστε**—in Thuc. verbs of advising, preventing, and agreeing—as *πείθειν, εἰργεῖν, ξυμβαίνειν*—most commonly take *ὥστε* among verbs that can take the simple infin.

§ 5 l. 34. **τῇ τε πρότερον**—‘they would purposely employ the system of charging prow to prow, which was before considered want of skill in their pilots.’ *τὸ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκρούσαι* is put as the supposed definition of *ἀμαθία τῶν κυβερνητῶν*, and the form of the sentence is an example of the effect which Thuc. produces by emphasising single words—here *ἀμαθία*. Thuc. much prefers giving *definitions* to giving *examples*; whereas in later oratory examples, *παραδείγματα*, are commoner. For the *example*, cf. II. 42, 2, *δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν* (‘virtue in a man,’ as *ἀμαθία κυβερνητοῦ* here) . . . ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή.

35. **ἀντίπρωρον**—agreeing with the indef. subject of *ξυγκρούσαι*.

ξυγκρούσαι—probably trans., as elsewhere in classical Greek. It is easy to supply τὴν ναῦν.

36. πλείστον . . . σχήσειν—as there is no other case of the superl. with ἔχειν, Krüger wishes to read πλέον for πλείστον, Stahl περισχήσειν for σχήσειν. But πλείστον σχήσειν does not mean ‘they would be very superior to,’ but rather ‘they would find very great (advantage).’ The phrase may be compared with Aristoph. *Acharn.* 474 ἐν ᾧπέρ ἐστι πάντα μοι τὰ πράγματα. Thuc. rather affects ἔχω in place of ἐστί, as in II. 4 ἐμπίρους ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας instead of ἐμπειροὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ δ.; and here the other construction immediately follows. So too the phrases πλέον ἔχω and πλέον ἐστί are the same. Aristoph. *Plut.* 531 τί πλέον πλουτεῖν ἐστί;

37. τὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν—‘for if driven back the A. would not be able to back in any direction except on to the shore, and that only through a short distance and to a small part, namely in the coast-line of their own camp.’ ἀνάκρουσις means ‘backing for a new attack.’

38. ἐξωθουμένοις—technical word for being thrust back or ashore in a sea fight, and driven back in a land battle.

39. ταύτην—sc. τὴν γῆν. Both the distance to the land and the stretch of coast in their power would be small.

§ 6 l. 41. ξυμφερομένους . . . ἐς ὀλίγον—‘forced to meet in a small space.’

44. ταραξέσθαι—passive in sense, ταραχθήσομαι not being used until late Greek.

47. περιπλεῦσαι δέ—‘the enemy would not be able to sail round them into the open water, since they had power to charge from the open sea and to retire.’

48. εὐρυχωρίαν—outside the harbour, = τὸ πέλαγος.

49. τὴν ἐπίπλευσιν . . . τε καὶ ἀνάκρουσιν—first to charge, and then, when the enemy attempted to sail round them, to retire with the intention of charging again. The two words need not be part of the same movement, although the art. is not repeated.

51. πολεμίου—even if by quick sailing the A. had it in their power to sail round the Syr., yet they would be caught between the retiring Syr. and the hostile posts at the mouth.

52. οὐ μεγάλου—thus Plem. and Ortygia controlled the whole width of the mouth.

§ 1 l. 1. πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην—‘in accordance with,’ according to the standard of ‘their science and strength.’ **37**  
πρὸς = *pro*.

5. ἐπεχείρουν—‘proceeded to attack.’

§ 2 l. 6. καὶ—‘accordingly.’

9. καθ’ ὅσον . . . αὐτοῦ = κατὰ τοσοῦτο αὐτοῦ ὅσον . . . ἑώρα

'at that part which faced the city.' Gylippus would attack the inner side of the A. lines, the troops from the Olympieum the outer side. ὁρᾶν πρὸς = *spectare ad*. For οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀ. see c. 4, 6.

11. ἡ γυμνητεία = οἱ γυμνήτες. They were armed with swords. So Eur. *Androm.* 1119 uses ἀτευχής of one who has laid aside his weapons of defence, but retains his sword.

12. προσήει—attracted into the number of γυμνητεία.

§ 3 l. 15. οἰόμενοι—the sentence would be more symmetrical with ᾤοντο.

18. ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη—'mounting on the walls.'

22. ἱππέας—Freeman remarks that it is strange that we hear nothing of the A. cavalry.

38 § 1 l. 1. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας—'after testing each other for a great part of the day by advancing and retiring.' προσπλέοντες καὶ ἀ. gives the manner in which they tested each other.

3. παραλαβεῖν—'win.'

4. εἰ μὴ . . . καταδύσαντες—cf. Eur. *Med.* 369 δοκεῖς γὰρ ἂν με τόνδε θωπεύσαι ποτε | εἰ μὴ τι κερδαίνουσιν ἢ τεχνωμένην; It is not necessary to supply παρέλαβον.

§ 2 l. 9. ἀντίπαλα—that the result of the fighting had been indecisive.

11. ἐλπίζων—'expecting.' N. did not desire a fresh engagement; but he knew that the slight success won by the Syr. would prompt them to renew the attack before the A. reinforcements should arrive. Freeman says that it was 'the obvious A. policy to avoid further action till those reinforcements came.'

12. τριηράρχους—Diodorus XIII. 10 says the trierarchs were eager for a fresh battle. Plutarch *Nic.* 20 says the new generals, Menander and Euthydemus, were eager to achieve distinction before Demosthenes should arrive.

14. ἐπεπονήκει—Pollux gives κακοῦσθαι as an equivalent.

15. σταυρώματος—this had been made in the spring of 414.

16. λιμένος κληστοῦ—such 'closed harbours' were common in Greece. Col. Leake *Top. of Athens* p. 311 says that 'the walls, being carried down to either side of the harbour's mouth, were prolonged from thence across the mouth upon shoals, or artificial moles, until a passage only was left in the middle for two or three triremes abreast between two towers, the opening of which might be further protected by a chain.' The three harbours of Piræus—Cantharus, Munichia, Zea—were so closed in 429 B.C.

§ 3 l. 17. διαλειπούσας—the transports, two hundred feet apart, were so stationed as to guard the gaps in the σταύρωμα. See on c. 41, 1.



20. καθ' ἡσυχίαν—'undisturbed,' the regular meaning of the phrase in Thuc. Cf. κατὰ σκότον=*clam*.

21. παρασκευαζόμενοι . . . διετέλεσαν—the only instance of διατελῶ with partic. in Thuc. διατελῶ, τυγχάνω, and φαίνομαι are often constructed with adjectives alone, as ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη I. 34, 2.

22. μέχρι νυκτὸς—the art. omitted as usual with words denoting time.

§ 1 l. 1. τῆς . . . ὥρας πρότερον—lit. 'earlier in point of time,' as in τότε τοῦ χειμῶνος.

2. ἐπιχειρήσει—'mode of attack.'

8. πρὶν δὴ—introduces the decisive moment, as δὴ often does.

Ἀρίστων . . . ἄριστος ὢν—a curious paronomasia. It is not probable that it is accidental, since Thuc. is clearly rather fond of this 'figure' (σχῆμα λέξεως), as may be seen from a few instances in this book: (1) c. 70, 8 φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν (this is *traductio*); (2) c. 85, 3 οὐ πολὺ . . . πολὺ; (3) c. 55, 1 μέγας . . . μείζων, and 68, 2 ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἔχθιστοι; (4) c. 70, 4 ἐμβολαὶ . . . προσβολαί; (5) c. 81, 5 ἀποκινδυνεύειν . . . ἀπονεννοημένους; (6) c. 21, 3 τολμηροὺς . . . ἀντιτολμῶντας, 42, 2 παρατείχισμα . . . περιτείχισμα, 69, 2 ἐπιφανεῖς . . . ἀφανίζειν; (7) below in 2, αὐθις καὶ αὐθήμερον. The present ex. may be compared with the frequent plays on names in the Tragedians, e.g. Pentheus and πένθος Eur. Bac. 367.

12. τοὺς . . . ἐπιμελομένους—i.e. the ἀγορανόμοι. Of Athens, Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* c. 51 says κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἀγορανόμοι . . . τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων προστέτακται τῶν ὠνίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντων.

14. τῶν πωλουμένων—'provisions for sale.' Cf. Polyb. 1, 18 παρείλετο τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χορηγίαν.

14-15. παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μεταστήσαι—Bekker, Arnold, and edd. generally read μεταναστήσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσαι, with B; some alter μεταναστήσαντας to μεταστήσαντας. Bloomfield rightly objects. παρὰ with accus., it is true, 'personam indicat—non rem—ad quam aliquid movetur'; but ἵστασθαι, τίθεσθαι, ἔξεσθαι are certainly used with παρά, where previous motion is implied. May not the words mean 'to move and place on the shore'?

18. αὐτοῖς—it hardly seems necessary to alter this to αὐτοῦ with the edd., following Portus. It may be ethic, applying to πάντας.

§ 1 l. 1. καὶ οἱ μὲν—the style here becomes animated, the quick succession of events being described in short co-ordinate sentences joined by καί. In II. 21, 3 there is a similar series with τε.

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§ 2 l. 9. τὰ ἀμφὶ—ἀμφὶ is not used freely by any prose author but Xen. It is not found in inscriptions, except in metre, and in Aristoph. only when he imitates tragedy. It is used twice by Thuc.

§ 3 l. 12. διὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου—adverbial phrase, as in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 929 διὰ κενῆς=ἄλλως.

§ 4 l. 15. φυλασσόμενοι—‘watching each other.’ This is of course not a pure reciprocal use of the middle; the sense of reciprocity comes from ἀλλήλων.

17. διαμέλλοντας—the change from dat. to accus. does not affect the sense.

κόπῳ ἀλίσκεσθαι—‘seized,’ or ‘overcome with weariness.’ So Aesch. *Eum.* 67 ὑπὸν ἀλίσκεσθαι. Madvig’s ἀναλίσκεσθαι is unnecessary.

19. ἐκ παρακελεύσεως—cf. II. 92, 1 ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες.

§ 5 l. 21. ἐμβόλων—not from ἐμβολή.

23. ἐπὶ πολὺ—‘far into the bows.’

24. αὐτοῖς—ethic, sc. τοῖς Συρακοσίοις.

26. περιπλέοντες—attributive.

27. ταρσοὺς—properly of the bones in a bird’s wing; hence used of any similar series, as the banks of oars, as here. It is often so used by Polyb. and later authors. The word is frequently referred to by the Atticists.

29. αὐτῶν—τῶν πλοίων.

41 § 1 l. 3. διὰ τῶν ὀλκάδων—each of these vessels commanded one of the ἔσπλοι in the σταύρωμα, which, as we infer from c. 38, 2, were 200 feet apart. Many edd. ridiculously suppose that the ‘dolphins’ extended over a space of 200 feet, understanding ἔσπλοι to mean the spaces between the transports. But really they are the gaps left in the σταύρωμα, and they were only wide enough to admit a single vessel.

§ 2 l. 7. δελφινοφόροι—the ‘dolphins’ served the purpose of the chains by which λιμένες κληστοὶ were closed. The κεραῖαι are here beams, not yard-arms.

§ 3 l. 10. αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς—near the transports.

11. αὐτοῖς—this dat. is not used outside of naval and military expressions *except* with αὐτός.

§ 4 l. 15. ἀμφοτέρων—i.e. the action just ended and that of two days earlier.

16. τὴν ἐλπίδα . . . ἐχυρὰν εἶχον—‘felt confident.’

ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ—strictly τὸν δὲ πεζὸν ought to follow.

19. κατ’ ἀμφοτέρα—‘every preparation was making for another and more decisive attack which should complete the defeat of the invaders by sea and land.’ Freeman.

42 § 1 l. 1. ἐν τούτῳ—while the Syr. preparations were making.

3. **παραγίγνονται**—Plutarch, in a well-known passage, *Nic.* 21, describes the entrance of the new force into the harbour *θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἔκπληξιν πολεμίων*. It is impossible to say why the Syr. did not fight them at the harbour mouth. Perhaps some facts are omitted here.

4. **τρῆς καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μάλιστα**—the numbers previously given bring the total to seventy-three exactly; but it is unnecessary to omit *μάλιστα* with B, since Thuc. allows for any possible error in the previous data. Sixty-five sailed from Athens; fifteen from Coreyra; two from Metapontum; one with Eurymedon; total eighty-three; but ten had been given to Conon.

**ξὺν ταῖς ξενικαῖς**—‘including,’ the regular Attic meaning, except only in the old phrase *σὺν (τοῖς) θεοῖς*. *σὺν* is *very* rare with persons and never implies a willing connection, in Attic prose after Thuc.; he has *ξὺν* fairly often with persons, and in cases implying will, viz. c. 57; II. 58; III. 90. The latter use is common in tragedy and Xen. In ordinary Attic *σὺν* is the word for adding together the items of a sum total. *ξὺν (τοῖς) ὅπλοις* seems to be an old military phrase.

8. **Ἑλληνας**. *Ἑλλην* can only be used as an adj. with *persons*.

§ 2 l. 13. **εἰ πέρας μὴδὲν ἔσται**—‘if there is to be no end.’ Cf. Eur. *Med.* 931 *εἰσῆλθέ μ’ οἶκτος εἰ γενήσεται*.

**τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι**—defines *πέρας*, an end *consisting in* deliverance, as in Pindar *Pyth.* IX. *τερπνὰν γάμου κραίνειν τελευτὰν*, and in the Homeric *τέλος θανάτοιο, γάμοιο*.

14. **ὀρῶντες**—anacoluthon, as though the preceding clause had been *οἱ Σ. κατεπλάγησαν*. Cf. II. 53 *νόμος οὐδείς ἀπείργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες*, for *ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς νόμου ἀπείργοντο*. Such a slight irregularity is not uncommon in tragedy, as Eur. *Hec.* 971 *αἰδῶς μ’ ἔχει . . . τυγχάνουσα*. Plato *Phaedo* p. 81 A *ὑπάρχει αὐτῇ εὐδαίμονι εἶναι . . . διάγουσα*.

14-5. **διὰ τὴν Δ. τεχιζομένην**—see on c. 28, 4, l. 32.

16. **ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον**—cf. c. 78 *τοιαῦτά τε καὶ παραπλήσια*.

17. **πανταχόσε**—*i.e.* in whatever direction it was exerted, whether in Attica itself or outside it. So *πανταχόθεν* in II. 53, 3 means ‘from whatever source it was obtained.’

18. **πολλὴν φαινομένην**—the same omission of the partic. as in c. 21, 3; 27, 1 *al.*

19. **ὥς ἐκ κακῶν ῥώμῃ**—*i.e.* as compared with their troubles, it was positive *ῥώμῃ*; cf. c. 76 *ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐθάρσυνε*. *ἐκ* here describes the source of the *ῥώμῃ*; *ὥς* is ‘considering that.’

§ 3 l. 21. **οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι**—prob. Thuc. meant to say ‘it

was impossible for him to delay *without* experiencing'; this would require either οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι διατρίβειν μὲν, παθεῖν δὲ μὴ, or οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι διατρίβοντα μὴ οὐ παθεῖν. But the words as they stand mean 'it is impossible to delay and to suffer,' and this, after all, is more incisive than 'it is impossible to delay, and then not to suffer.'

24. φοβερός—with ἀφικόμενος. The act. sense of φοβερός, 'causing terror,' is the commoner. The passive meaning 'timid' occurs in II. 3, 4; IV. 128, 4; Soph. O. T. 153 φοβεράν φρένα δέλματι πάλλων.

32. αὐτοὺς—object of ὠφελεῖν, the subject of which is τὸ μεταπέμψαι.

33. ταῦτα—there is a similar parenthesis followed by ταῦτα δὲ πάντα σκοπῶν in Andoc. I. 58 fol.

οὖν—resumes after the long parenthesis, just as *igitur, sed, autem* are commonly used, e.g. Cic. *pro Mur.* 50 *meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces percrebruisse.* . . . *tum igitur, his rebus auditis meministis.*

34. τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα δεινότητος—this is labelled as an instance of the double superl., as in Eur. *Med.* ὦ μέγιστον ἐχθίστη γύναι, but Classen rightly takes μάλιστα closely with τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, for 'especially on the first day'; but, if he understood the passage, he did not make it clear. Why are there *three* superlatives, πρώτη, μάλιστα, δεινότητος? Thuc. surely means that D. saw after his arrival that the nearer the day of his arrival was the greater was the awe he inspired. Hence trans. 'realising that at present, while his arrival was quite recent, he filled the enemy with awe.'

35. μάλιστα—serves to bring the two superlatives, πρώτη and δεινότητος, into relation. The whole is an example of his love of elaborate, composite, and co-ordinate expressions instead of subordinate clauses. For the use of superlatives in such expressions, cf. II. 11, 1 ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες, and perhaps the constant use of μάλιστα in 'proportions,' as in II. 47, 4 μάλιστα ἐθνησκον ὄσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσῆσαν.

36. ὅτι τάχος—found also in Herod. ix. 7, and equivalent to ὡς τάχος = ὡς τάχιστα.

§ 4 l. 42. αὐθις—'then.'

44. ὑπομείναι—often contrasted with φεύγειν, either of soldiers or litigants who stand a trial; sometimes it is joined with καρτερεῖν. It generally implies danger.

ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ—a graphic expression for setting to work with a will.

45. οἱ—the only case of the sing. of this pron. at all frequent in prose. Even this is usually avoided by the Orators.



ξυντομωτάτην κ.τ.λ.—‘he thought that (therein) lay the means of finishing the war most quickly.’ (Classen rightly objects to inserting ταύτην after ξυντομωτάτην with Madvig. It is perfectly natural to supply τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ with ἡγείτο.)

§ 5 l. 46. ἡ ἀπάξιν—the suppression of the alternative to κατορθώσας is a fine effect.

47. τρήσθαι—passive.

§ 6 l. 53. ἐπεκράτουν—‘had the upper hand.’ Freeman.

54. οὐδὲ γὰρ καθ’ ἕτερα=κατ’ οὐδέτερά.

56. ὅτι μὴ—‘except.’

§ 1 l. 1. μηχαναῖς—Freeman says ‘it is strange that we have heard so little of engines of this kind during the whole war’ in Sicily. ‘They have not been mentioned before except when Nicias used them as materials for a fire’ (vi. 101).

2. παρατειχίσματος—N. in his letter had said that it was necessary to capture the ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπελθών. The first attack was made on the south side.

8. ξυνάρχοντας—Eurymedon, Menander, Euthydemus.

ὡς ἐπενόει, καὶ—καὶ marks the carrying out of the plan that had been formed. In this idiom the rel. sense of ὡς, ‘as,’ is hardly distinguishable from the temporal.

τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν—‘they were to strive to win their way on the north side by the path by which he (Nicias) had first made a lodgment for the invaders on the hill of Syracuse.’ Freeman.

§ 2 l. 10. ἀδύνατα—the plur. marks the details of a complex action.

12. ἡμερῶν—gen. of measure, as constantly in expressions of magnitude.

14. τοξευμάτων—we expect rather a mention of some engine used in the destruction of walls, and it is just possible that τόξευμα here denotes a machine of some kind. The proposals are μοχλευμάτων Madvig, λαξευμάτων Meineke, τειχομάχων Widmann.

15. ἦν κρατῶσι—the pres. is used because κρατεῖν = ‘to be master,’ like νικῶ. Otherwise the aor. would be necessary.

16. ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕπνου—*concubia nocte*; cf. περὶ πρώτου ὕπνου II. 2, 1; ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας Acts xxiii. 23. When the art. is omitted with expressions of time, a preposition is usually present, except with νυκτός, ἡμέρας.

17. τὴν πεζὴν—i.e. the foot at large who were able to take part. Some were left to guard the works. (The true reading πεζὴν comes from Plut. Nic. 21.)

18. ἐν τοῖς τεύχεσιν—it has been generally assumed that, since the completion of the Syr. cross-wall, the A. had abandoned the κύκλος altogether, and held only the low

ground at the south; but there is no evidence for this, and probably Freeman is right in assuming that N. still guarded the Fort.

19. *ὑπελείπετο*—Classen well says that the imperf. refers to his task of guarding the lines.

§ 3 l. 20. *ἡπὲρ καὶ ἡ προτέρα*—referring to the ascent of the A. in the spring of 414.

23. *τὸ τείχοςμα*—*i.e.* a fort on Euryelus, built by Gylippus and forming the western extremity of his cross-wall.

§ 4 l. 27. *προτειχίσμασιν*—defensive ‘outworks’ on the north side of the cross-wall.

30. *τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις*—a chosen band of hoplites now under the command of Hermocrates. They had been appointed to keep a look-out on Epipolae in 414.

§ 5 l. 34. *ἀμυνομένους*—accus. because it is object of *ἔτρεψαν* only. Contrast c. 53, 2 *προσπεσόντες τοῖς πρώτοις τρέπονσι*.

36. *τοῦ περαίνεσθαι*—‘that by means of the present impulse they might not be slow in the execution of the purpose for which they had come.’ The infin. is passive and depends on *βραδεῖς γένωνται* = *ὑστερήσωσι*.

37. *ἄλλοι δέ*—*i.e.* others than Demosth. and his division.

*ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης*—temporal, ‘in the first instance.’ If *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς π. παρατείχισμα* be retained with the MSS., the meaning is ‘the original cross-wall’; but there seems to be no reason why the cross-wall should be so qualified. There is no subsequently built wall with which it is contrasted.

§ 6 l. 41. *οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι*—‘while the invaders were still engaged on their attempt on the wall (*ἤρουν . . . καὶ . . . ἀπέσυρον*), the garrisons of the other forts came forth to attack them.’ Freeman.

§ 7 l. 49. *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ μήπω μεμαχημένου*—‘those parts of the army which had not yet come into action’; neut. collective, as often.

51. *διελθεῖν*—‘force their way through.’ ‘They feared,’ says Freeman, ‘lest, if they relaxed for a moment, the whole force of the defenders should turn and come together against them.’

52. *οἱ Βοιωτοὶ*—*i.e.* the Thespians who in a single ship had met the Syracusan fleet at Locri (c. 25, 3). The majority of the three hundred Boeotians referred to in c. 19, 3 had not yet reached Syr. See c. 50, 1.

44 § 1 l. 2. *ἣν*—‘with reference to which,’ *accus. de quo*.

3. *πυθέσθαι*—referring to his own investigations in Sicily.

*οὐδ’ ἀφ’ ἐτέρων*—cf. c. 42, 6.

4. *ἕκαστα*—‘the details.’ *ἕκαστος* is as usual in the subordinate clause, and so is nom., though it is in apposition to *ἣν*.

ξυνηνέχθη = ξυνέβη. The word is Ionic in this meaning. Cf. ξυμφορά. The use is found in Herod., Thuc., and late authors like Lucian, Appian.

5. σαφέστερα μὲν—sc. ἐστὶν ἕκαστα.

7. οἶδεν—sense requires the sing. here, because οἱ παραγενόμενοι are considered separately; but when the individuals all act alike, the verb with ἕκαστος is in plur.

9. ἐν γὰρ τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ—i.e. as contrasted with other wars; whereas ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε implies no antithesis.

πὼς ἂν τις—another question comes in 67, 2. The question is one of the σχήματα διανοίας—figures of thought—like irony, oxymoron. They are not common in early prose; far less so than the σχήματα λέξεως—figures of speech—like antithesis, paronomasia—which themselves become commoner later.

§ 2 l. 11. ἑώρων . . . οὕτως . . . ὥς . . . εἰκὸς τὴν μὲν ὄψιν . . . προσορᾶν, τὴν δὲ γινώσιν . . . ἀπιστεῖσθαι—though we have no such idiom, yet in Greek there is certainly not an ellipse of ὁρᾶν after εἰκός, as the edd. say. In the case of correlatives, the explanation which we put in earlier is often deferred to the relative clause. So here the contrast between ὄψιν and γινώσιν is deferred to the ὥς clause. Trans. ‘as was natural for them to see in the moonlight, they saw the outline of a figure in front without being able to distinguish whether it was that of a friend.’ This idiom is very common with τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον, and is often misunderstood. (Cf. v. 95 οὐ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἢ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἢ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμειος παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον, where a reference to ἡ φιλία is at first sight expected in the τοσοῦτον clause. The idiom with οὐχ ὥσπερ is similar, as Aristoph. *Eq.* 784 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ῥαψάμενός σοι τουτὶ φέρω = ‘he does bring you this as I do.’)

12. ὄψιν—‘outline.’ Cf. Plat. *Rep.* p. 376 B ὄψιν φίλην καὶ ἐχθρὰν διακρίνει.

12-3. τὴν δὲ γινώσιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεῖσθαι—lit. ‘that their recognition of friends should be distrusted.’ τοῦ οἰκείου is neut. collective, as in c. 43, 7. Classen takes it to mean ‘what was peculiar’ in contrast to τοῦ σώματος.

§ 3 l. 16. τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ—‘with their first impulse.’

20. πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι—‘which division they should join.’ χρὴ after rel. words is very common; c.g. II. 4 ἦ χρὴ σωθῆναι.

21. τὰ πρόσθεν—‘those in front had become completely disorganised and were difficult to distinguish.’ Cf. c. 14, 2 χαλεπαὶ ἀρξαί.

§ 4 l. 24. κραυγῇ . . . χρώμενοι—so c. 71, 5 and II. 4, 2. There are κερραγμός, κέρραγμα and κραυγή in Attic.



27. οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι—answers οἱ τε γὰρ Σ. above.

πάν τὸ ἐξ ἐναντίας—‘all who came towards them.’ For the neut. collective with adverb cf. II. 45, 1 τὸ μὴ ἐκποδὼν . . . τετίμηται.

28. τῶν ἤδη πάλιν φευγόντων—‘belonging to those who were already in flight.’

34. αὐτὸ=τὸ ξύνθημα.

§ 5 l. 34. ἐκείνων—applying to the enemy, as often. Both ἐκείνος and αὐτὸς here and again in l. 38 are used of the same people. This is very common.

37. ἐντύχοιεν—sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι; διέφευγον—sc. οἱ πολέμιοι.

39. ὑποκρίνονται—‘answer’; only here in Thuc. It is Ionic; common in Herod.: Aristoph. *Acharn.* 401, and late authors.

§ 6 l. 44. φόβον παρέιχε—sc. αὐτὸ, i.e. τὸ παιανίζειν.

45. οἱ τε πολέμιοι—what is to be supplied?

§ 7 l. 47. φίλοι τε φίλοις—polyptoton.

§ 8 l. 50. κατὰ . . . κρημνῶν—ρίπτειν ἀπὸ is found only in late Greek.

52. πάλιν καταβάσας—cf. c. 62 τὴν πάλιν ἀνάκρουσιν.

53. τὸ ὀμαλὸν—‘the flat ground between the hill and the bay of Trôgilos. The men of the first armament, who had learned the lie of the land on both sides of the hill, knew the roads, and contrived to make their way round to the A. quarters.’ Freeman. They had ascended Epipolæ in 414.

57. διεφύγγανον—The form φυγγάνω is occasionally found even in the Orators.

45 § 1 l. 2. ἡ ἢ πρόσβασις—sc. ἐστὶ, i.e. where the ascent to E. is. For the omission of the verb in rel. clauses cf. c. 11, 4.

§ 2 l. 6. ὅπλα—here ‘shields’; it is often so used by Herod. So *arma* in contrast with *tela*.

46 2. αὖ—‘again’ referring to c. 41, 4 τὴν ἐλπίδα ἤδη ἐχυρὰν εἶχον.

3. Ἀκράγαντα—it was neutral. See c. 33. There was now a party favourable to Syracuse in the city; hence the mission of Sicanus, who had been appointed general with Hermocrates in the winter of 415. Acragas did not however join Syr. See c. 50.

8. αὖθις—he had gone once before; see c. 7.

ἐν ἐλπίδι ὦν—cf. c. 25, 1. Here it is constructed as ἐλπίζω.

47 § 1 l. 2. πρὸς τε—‘with reference to.’ Freeman well says that we must remember the old εὐτυχία of Nicias. This remembrance it was which increased the vexation of the troops.

4. ἀρρωστίαν—medical term. Here in moral sense, as in III. 15, 2.

6. ἀχθομένους—two reasons are given: (1) νόσῳ ἐπιέζοντο, (2) τὰ ἄλλα ἀνέλπιστα . . . ἐφαίνετο.



§ 2 l. 6. νόσῳ—esp. those encamped between the double walls below the cliff.

7. κατ' ἀμφοτέρα—'for two reasons,' which are then given, viz. (1) the season, (2) the place.

8. οὔσης . . . χαλεπὸν ἦν—see on c. 13, 2.

10. χαλεπὸν—'unhealthy,' like βαρύς, *gravis*. The unhealthiness of the marshy ground made it difficult to lay siege to Syracuse by land. The Romans found this out in 212, Livy xxiv. 26 *tempore autumni et locis natura gravibus, multo tamen magis extra urbem quam in urbe, intoleranda vis aestus omnium ferme corpora movit*.

ἀνέλπιστα—the pessimism that usually accompanies bad health.

§ 3 l. 13. ἐς τὰς 'Ε. διεκινδύνευσεν—the edd. compare III. 36, 2 ἐς 'Ιωνίαν παρακινδυνεύσαι.

17. τοῦ στρατεύματος—'partitive' after ναυσί: 'so long as it was possible to prevail at least with that part of the fleet that had come to reinforce them.'

§ 4 l. 20. ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ—at Decelea.

21. ἡ Συρακοσίους—the preposition omitted in the second clause after a comparative. Cf. v. 111 αἰσχύνῃν αἰσχύω μετ' ἀνοίας ἢ τύχης προσλαβεῖν.

οὓς . . . ῥάδιον εἶναι—cf. I. 91, 5 ὅσα μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι; II. 13, 5 οἷς χρήσεσθαι, and 102 λέγεται . . . ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι. This attraction of short rel. clauses in *Oratio Obliqua* into infin. is less rare in Greek than in Lat. (*qui=et is* is different). Thuc. has nine instances. Cf. Roby, II. § 1677.

23. εἰκὸς εἶναι—*decere*.

§ 1 l. 2. ἐνόμιζε μὲν—Freeman says rightly, 'They were, he 48 allowed, in evil case; but it would not do openly to proclaim the fact.' In his speech in the council N. did not disguise his opinion. Hence in ἐνόμιζε μὲν . . . τῷ δὲ λόγῳ the antithesis is not so much between what he thought and what he said, as between what he both thought and admitted in the council and the impression which he wished his words to produce outside the council. His admission was to be kept secret.

πόνηρα—'here bears the sense *calamitous, dangerous*, like our word *evil*, as in the phrase *in evil case*.' Bloomfield. See *not. crit.*, for the accent.

3. τῷ δὲ λόγῳ—'by his speech,' with ἀποδεικνύναι. It was not to be publicly known that he felt they were in evil case; nor was a report to reach the enemy that they were openly voting for a retreat.

4. ἐμφανῶς—with ψηφίζομένους. This seems to be merely a plea for secrecy by Nicias. He urged that if they voted for

retreat, every one would know of it and so the enemy would hear about it.

5. μετὰ πολλῶν—has been thought to refer to a subsequent and larger council to be held, at which the taxiarchs would attend; but prob. N. only means that if they voted for retreat, their vote would accord with the opinion of many in command, and that the enemy would hear that this was so.

6. καταγγέλτους γίνεσθαι—cf. III. 30, 1 ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, γίγνομαι making a passive with verbal adjs.

7. λαθεῖν—antithesis to ἐμφανῶς and = μὴ φανεροὶ γενέσθαι.

8. τοῦτο ποιοῦντες—the edd. all say this means ἀναχωροῦντες. But it should be ψηφιζόμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. N. urges that no formal vote may be now taken, because every one must know of it. 'Let us wait, and decide the matter in secret and informally should retreat become necessary.' He is not at present dealing with the question of retreating immediately, but is arguing on the assumption that an immediate retreat is impossible. Cf. c. 50, II. 30, 31.

ποιοῦντες—ἐβούλετο is here lost sight of, and the *Obliqua* is used. Nicias is part of the subject, and so the nom. is possible.

§ 2 l. 8. τὸ δέ τι—Thuc. has told us why N. objected to an open vote, and now proceeds to explain why N. thought an immediate retreat unnecessary, and indeed impossible. This is shown below by ἦν καρτερῶσι προσκαθήμενοι as distinct from οὐδ' ἐμφανῶς σφᾶς ψηφιζόμενους κ.τ.λ. above.

9. ἀφ' ᾧ—'judging from private (ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι) information that he received of them.' ἀφ' ᾧν . . . αὐτῶν = ἀπ' ἐκείνων & αὐτῶν, and αὐτῶν is neut., referring to τὰ τῶν πολέμιων.

10. ἐλπίδος τι—cf. c. 69 λαμπρότητός τι.

12. χρημάτων γὰρ—'they would wear out the Syr. by want of supplies.'

14. θαλασσοκρατούντων—sc. σφῶν; the gen. abs. in spite of the subject being the same as that of ἐκτρυνώσκειν. This has the effect of strongly emphasising the participial clause and of contrasting the position of the A. with that of the Syr. (Hw. here reads θαλασσοκρατοῦντες; Stahl inserts σφῶν, and it is not quite clear that any of the passages where this construction occurs are parallel to this one.) The same phenomenon appears in Latin; e.g. Livy xxiii. 24, 10 *pontem fluminis petentes, obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte.*

15. ἦν γάρ τι—cf. c. 4, 2.

16. τὰ πράγματα ἐνδύναι—'place the government in their hands.'

ἐπεκηρυκέτο—the subject must be taken from the paren-

thesis, just as the object is in III. 70, 3 καὶ (ἦν γὰρ Πειθίας . . .) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτόν.

17. οὐκ εἶα—‘urged him not.’

§ 3 l. 17. ἃ ἐπιστάμενος—sums up the motives that prompted Nicias. Cf. I. 42 ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες; VI. 60 ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι.

18. τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ . . . τῷ δ' ἐ . . . λόγῳ—the antithesis occurs about fifty times in Thuc. ‘In reality he held back, inclining both ways and considering, but in his public speech at the time.’

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἔχων—on the analogy of ἔχειν with adverbs.

19. τῷ δ' ἐμφανεῖ—then follows the summary of his official speech. As Thuc. has such a clear knowledge of the motives given above, we may assume that Nicias began by making admissions which he did not wish to be taken as part of his ἐμφανῆς λόγος. (We could scarcely suppose that Thuc., sympathising with N., merely *inferred* his motives.)

21. σφῶν—‘in them’; for the constr. Fr. Müller compares θανμάζειν τί τινος.

22. ὥστε—introduces the epexegetis of ταῦτα; cf. II. 40, 3 διαφερόντως γὰρ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν, ‘namely that they should depart without an order from them.’

23. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς—‘we shall not,’ he said, ‘then have the same body of persons both voting about ourselves and making up their minds from seeing the facts with their own eyes as we do instead of merely hearing them from the fault-finding of others.’ For τῶν αὐτῶν cf. I. 22, 3 οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι; III. 56, 7.

25. ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ—sc. ὁρῶσιν. But the accus. might be used with ὥσπερ, corresponding with ὁρῶντας.

27. ἔξ ὧν ἂν τις—‘they will let themselves be persuaded by the calumnies of a clever speaker.’ With εὐ λέγων διαβάλλειν cf. καλῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν III. 38, 4; εὐ διαβαλὼν III. 42, 2.

§ 4 l. 29. καὶ—*immo*.

31. ὑπὸ χρημάτων—‘been bribed to turn traitors and depart.’

34. ἐπιστάμενος—the timidity of Nicias in this matter is in marked contrast with the outspoken boldness of Pericles. Thirlwall doubted whether N. really feared the A. so much as he professed to do.

35. ἐπ' αἰσχροῦ τε αἰτίᾳ—viz. on a γραφή προδοσίας, which might be brought by any citizen even against a general by means of an impeachment (εἰσαγγελία) in the Ecclesia. The penalties were very severe, involving death, confiscation, and burial outside the state, ἀτιμία for the convict's descendants, and the entry of the man's name on a black list. The case would be tried before the Thesmothetae, who also superintended the εὐθυναί—accounts—of retiring στρατηγοί, and a Court of heliasts.

36. **μᾶλλον ἢ κ.τ.λ.**—‘he would sooner run the risk, and die on his own account at the hands of the enemy, if die he must.’

37. **ιδία**—there is no need to suspect this word with Kr. and Hw.; ‘to die at the hands of the public executioner’ is *δημοσία ἀποθανεῖν*; N. desires to die otherwise. There is also abundant evidence that difficulties arising at Athens out of the *στρατηγία* were regarded as especially *δημόσια*.

§ 5 l. 38. **ἔφη**—when long passages of *Oratio Obliqua* are attempted in Greek, the verb of ‘saying’ is frequently repeated. The structure of this c. is similar to II. 13.

40. **ξενотροφούντας**—these mercenaries were partly Sicel, partly Arcadian. Mercenary service was traditional among the Arcadians. It only became general in Greece after the Pel. war. The Pel. employed many—probably 3000—in 426 against Demosthenes in Aetolia, and Brasidas had 1000 in Thrace. Cf. c. 19, 4.

**ἐν περιπολλοῖς**—forts for the protection of the open country, with home-garrisons, as distinct from *στρατεῖαι*. Cf. VI. 45 of the Syr., *ἐς τὰ περιπόλια τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρὰς ἐσεκόμιζον*.

42. **ἔτι**—‘besides.’

**βόσκοντας**—when used of men, *βόσκειν* implies contempt or trouble. Cf. Herod. VI. 39 *βόσκων ἐπικούρους*. The participles belong to *ἀπορεῖν* and *ἀμηχανήσκειν* alike.

**τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν κ.τ.λ.**—‘were in difficulties, and would hereafter be at a loss.’ *ἀπορεῖν* refers to want of money, *ἀμηχανήσκειν* to the diminution of their *παρασκευή* which would result from this *ἀπορία*.

43. **ἔτι**—with the future is used thus in threats and prophecies.

44. **ἦν τε . . . ἐκλίπωσι**—contrast c. 13, 1 *εἰ ἀφαιρήσομεν τι καὶ βραχὺ τῆς τηρήσεως*, and see on c. 8, 1 for the difference in the protasis.

45. **τῆς νῦν παρασκευῆς**—‘their present forces,’ depending on *ὅτιοῦν*. Of course the forces would fall off if the pay were not forthcoming.

47. **ἐπικουρικὰ**—mercenaries would serve for anyone that hired them. But the Athenians served δι’ ἀνάγκης, as men compelled by law and duty.

§ 6 l. 48. **τρίβειν**—‘remain’; cf. c. 49, 2.

49. **καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν, ὧν κ.τ.λ.**—‘and not to leave defeated by the money of an enemy than whom they were far better off.’ *χρήμασιν, ὧν* = *χρήμασιν ἐκείνων ὧν*. Nicias has alluded in *χρήματα* only to the financial straits of the enemy, and adroitly says ‘are we to let ourselves be beaten by an enemy who, even if he is for the moment stronger, is yet so much poorer that he



must lose if we remain?' (Other edd. take *χρήμασιν* differently. Most reject *ὦν* of B and either render *ὥς* 'since,' or alter it. Thuc. does not use *ὥς* 'since' with indic. elsewhere.)

*ὦν*—antecedent omitted. This cannot be connected with *νικηθέντας*, as *νικᾶν* with *γεν.* is exclusively poetical.

*πολὺν κρείσσους*—Herbst says that *πολλῶς κρείσσους* is always used by Thuc. for 'to be much better off,' and that *πολὺν κρείσσους* = *νικᾶν*. But here *νικᾶν* is itself used in a metaphorical sense, of being beaten by *money*. And Nicias chooses words which will bear both senses, as they help to disguise the weakness of the A.

§ 1 l. 1. *ἰσχυρίζετο*—'spoke confidently.'

2. *αἰσθόμενος . . . ὅτι*—a substantive clause after *αἰσθάνομαι* is not very common; cf. I. 50; II. 88, 1; the partic. is far commoner.

6. *ὥστε*—see on c. 48, 3.

*καὶ ἅμα*—the construction is again changed from partic. to finite verb. Cf. c. 47, 2.

*ταῖς γοῦν ναυσίν*—'in the fleet at least he retained his old confidence.'

7. [*κρατηθεῖς*]*—*it is not likely that Thuc. said this of Nicias, who had taken no part in the night attack. Nowhere else does he use *κρατεῖν* except of a general actually leading his men. We should also require parallels to *ἐθάρσει κρατηθεῖς* for 'he felt confident *though* he had been defeated.' As the passage is clearly corrupt, we may safely omit the word. (Widmann reads <*μᾶλλον*> *θαρσῆσας ἢ πρότερον κρατηθεῖς*, and Sitzler <*μᾶλλον*> *θαρσῶν, ἢ πρότερον ἐθάρσεν κρατηθεῖς*.)

§ 2 l. 10. *ἄνευ Ἀ. ψηφίσματος*—cf. *ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων* I. 128; *οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν* III. 66.

11. *τρίβειν αὐτοῦ*—'remain in Sicily.'

12. *Θάψον . . . ἢ . . . Κατάνην*—'there they would have the open sea and all the advantages which the open sea gave to the A. tactics. There they would . . . maintain themselves by harrying the territory of the enemy.' Freeman.

17. *οὐκ . . . ἀλλ'*—cf. Eur. *Ion* 131 *οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις*.

19. *τὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας χ.*—'the advantages of skill will be theirs.'

20. *ἀναχωρήσεις κ.τ.λ.*—chiasmus, *ἀναχωρήσεις* corresponding to *καταίροντες*, *ἐπίπλους* to *δρμώμενοι*.

22. *καταίροντες*—sc. *ἐς βραχὺ καὶ περιγραφτόν*.

§ 3 l. 25. *μέλλειν*—cf. Eur. *Heracle.* 132 *σὸν δὲ τὸ φράζειν ἐστὶ μὴ μέλλειν τ'*.

§ 4 l. 27. *μέλλησις*—cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 639 *οὐχὶ νυστάζειν ἔτι | ὥρα 'στιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ μελλονικῶν*.

*ἐνεγένετο*—cf. VIII. 9 *διατριβῆς ἐγγιγνομένης*.

28. ὑπόνοια μή—as though ὑπόνοια were φόβος. Cf. III. 53 ὑποπτεύομεν μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῇτε.

31. κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον—a common phrase. (Stein on Herod. III. 135, Koek on Aristoph. *Eq.* 1354.)

50 § 1 l. 1. Γύλιππος—see c. 46.

4. ἡ τοῖς Σ. στάσις φιλία—for the order cf. on c. 23, 3. 'The party favourable to the S. had been expelled.' Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 127 φιλία γὰρ ἄδε τάξις; *Choeph.* 458 στάσις δὲ πάγκοινος ἂδ' ἐπιρροβεῖ.

7. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Π.—see c. 19, 3.

§ 2 l. 10. ἀπενεχθέντες—by bad weather.

12. Εὐσπερίταις—afterwards one of five towns called the Pentapolis of Cyrene. In 401 it was again attacked by Libyans, and offered citizenship to any Greek who would come to its aid. Many of the Messenians, expelled from Naupactus by the Spartans, went there. Paus. IV. 26; Diod. XIV. 34.

16. δύο ἡ.—gen. of measure and expegetive of ἐλάχιστον.

§ 3 l. 24. ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον χωροῦντα—'improving.'

26. χαλεπώτερον ἴσχοντα—a substitute for χαλεπωτέρως ἔχοντα.

30. ὁμοίως—'as before.'

ἀλλ' ἢ—'except.'

μὴ φανερώς . . . ψηφίζεσθαι—see on c. 48, 1. No formal vote was to be passed.

31. προείπον ὥς ἐδύναντο κ.τ.λ. — 'they gave notice as secretly as possible to all.'

33. παρασκευάσασθαι—'to prepare (to depart) when the sign was given.' The sentence would be clearer if he had said ὥς ἐδύναντο ἀδηλότατα παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκπλοῦν ποιησομένους ὅταν τις σ.; but it is easy to supply ἐκπλευσομένους from ἐκπλοῦν after παρασκευάσασθαι. (The preliminary arrangements are not denoted by παρασκευάσασθαι but are implied clearly enough in προείπον ἐκπλοῦν. So in VI. 65 προείπον πανδημεὶ πᾶσιν ἐξιέναι Συρακοσίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτοῖμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν κ.τ.λ.; there too προείπον ἐξιέναι implies preparation for the expedition. Here παρασκευάσασθαι applies to such final arrangements as can only be made when the final order is given. There is no need to alter the aor. into the perf., as some of the edd. do.)

τις—added to σημήνη because the sign was to be given not by herald, but secretly.

§ 4 l. 35. ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπει—eclipses of sun or moon were deemed ominous. Plut. *Nic.* 23 says that even οἱ πολλοὶ knew in the time of Nicias that eclipses of the sun were a natural phenomenon; but this is very doubtful. What was known

about them was due to the teaching of Anaxagoras. Plut. *Per.* 35 ; *de superst.* c. 7.

ἐτύχανε . . . οὔσα—Thuc. uses the imperf. of τυγχάνω with pres. or perf. ; with aor. only in VIII. 105. See on c. 4, 3.

38. ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι—‘took it to heart.’

39. ἦν . . . προσκείμενος—the tense of εἶμι must precede the participle in this periphrasis, as it is emphatic, representing a state of things existing at the time referred to. Cf. II. 67 ἦν . . . πολιορκοῦν ; II. 80 ἦσαν . . . ξυμπροθυμούμενοι.

τι καὶ ἄγαν κ.τ.λ.—cf. Intr. p. xxxv. Plutarch says that Stilbides had lately died.

40. οὐδ’ ἂν διαβουλευσασθαι—‘he would not even enter into any further discussion as to how he should move until . . .’

41. πρὶν . . . μείναι—here πρὶν has the infin., though a negative precedes. This happens when something positive is insisted on ; as here the fact that he would remain so long.

ἐξηγοῦντο—technical word for interpretation by priests. Cf. Andoc. I. 116 ἐξηγῆ Κηρύκων ὦν, οὐχ ὅσιον ὄν.

τρὶς ἑννέα—Plutarch says that the priests only required nine days, but Nicias insisted on staying for a whole revolution of the moon.

43. μελλήσασι—refers to the delay that had been rendered necessary by the eclipse, before they had decided how long to remain. ἡ μονή on the contrary refers to the definite stay of twenty-seven days. But they had only stayed a few days when they were attacked. ‘And so the A., after delaying for this reason, had resolved to remain.’

§ 1 l. 2. ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν—‘felt encouraged.’

μὴ ἀνιέναι τὰ τῶν Ἀ.—‘not to relax their hold upon the A.,’ i.e. to keep them busy instead of disregarding them. Hence—§ 2—τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Cf. VI. 18 τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀνιέναι ; II. 13 τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν.

4. αὐτῶν κατεγνώκων—‘since they had themselves come to the conclusion that they were no longer superior to them (σφῶν).’ καταγιγνώσκειν is used for forming an adverse opinion. κατάγνωσις has a similar sense. Cf. III. 45, 1.

7. ἐπιβουλεύσαι—‘made plans.’ Cf. III. 109, 3 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

καὶ ἄμα—adds another reason.

§ 2 l. 13. ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἄ.—see on c. 7, 4.

14. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κ.τ.λ.—‘the first attack was made by land on the A. wall, clearly on the outer side, by the horsemen and others from the Olympieion.’ Freeman, who views the whole engagement as fought south of Epipolae. But c. 54 l. 3 and c. 60, 2 l. 9 prove that the attack began on Epipolae.

19. οὔσης δὲ στενῆς—the pursuit was prob. near the Harbour.

'In that swampy ground the solid path was narrow, and so was the entrance to the A. camp.' Freeman.

20. ἵππους—apparently he does not know how many riders were killed. Doubtless in the confusion some escaped.

52 § 1 l. 2. ταῖς τε ναυσὶν—the Syr. had not ventured to attack the A. by sea since the arrival of Eurymedon and Demosthenes.

§ 2 l. 7. τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας—this was at the south and therefore projected towards Dascon bay.

9. ἐπεξάγοντα—'as he was drawing off' so as to surround the enemy's left. Bloomfield.

11. ἀπολαμβάνουσι—after defeating the A. centre, the Syr. centre was able to join in the attack on Eurymedon.

12. κοίλῳ—i.e. Dascon bay.

13. τὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ ν. ἐπισπομένας—cf. μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἠκολούθουν c. 57, 9. Diodorus says that seven A. ships were here sunk.

53 § 1 l. 1. Γύλιππος—he had remained on shore, where Demosthenes kept a look-out on him.

3. ἔξω τῶν σταυρωμάτων—i.e. to the south-west of their palisade; 'they were chased to the muddy shore and the shallow waters between it and the promontory of Daskṓn.' Freeman.

7. τῆς γῆς φιλίας οὔσης—i.e. that part of the land which lay south-west of the A. lines, and so the very part on to which the A. ships were being carried.

8. τὴν χηλὴν—a mole running along the coast between the shore and the marsh Lysimeleia.

§ 2 l. 9. οἱ Τυρσηνοί—the Etruscans were old enemies to Syracusan trade and naval power, and had consequently sent aid to Athens in the expedition.

11. ταύτη—close up by the A. lines where they reached the mole.

§ 3 l. 17. ἐπιβοηθήσαντες καὶ δείσαντες—'fearing for their ships and coming to their aid.' Thuc. often thus co-ordinates effect and cause, placing the causal partic. second, as in VIII. 7, 1 ἐπειγομένων τῶν Χίων ἀποστεῖλαι τὰς ναῦς καὶ δεδιότων μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθωνται.

21. ξυνήγαγον κατὰ τὸ σ.—'brought them within the shelter of their lines,' i.e. within the stockade.

§ 4 l. 26. κληματίδων καὶ δαδὸς—a collective sing. is sometimes thus joined with a plur., as in II. 4, 2 λίθοις καὶ κεράμῳ. Cf. Theognis 1360 κληματίνῳ πυρί.

27. ἀφείσαν—see on c. 19, 4 l. 27.

29. περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν—περὶ with dat. is rare in prose outside Thuc., who uses it often with verbs of fearing.



ἀντεμυχανήσαντό τε . . . καὶ παύσαντες—the co-ordination of an act and its result by τε . . . καὶ is poetical.

30. σβεστήρια κωλύματα—this collocation is awkward, but Pollux has σβεστηρίοις κωλύμασιν ἐχρῶντο. Hw. first thought of σβεστήρια καὶ κω., but rightly rejected it.

παύσαντες . . . τὸ μὴ προσελθεῖν—see on c. 33, 3.

3. τῆς ἄνω—that related in c. 51. We must remember 54 that ἄνω means ‘on the higher ground away from the Harbour’ only in a relative sense. See crit. note on c. 2, 4. The engagement referred to need not have been, and probably was not, wholly on Epipolae, but, as compared with the fight on the mole and in Lysimeleia, it was ἄνω. See on c. 51, 2 l. 14.

4. ὅθεν—‘by which.’

§ 1 l. 2. λαμπρᾶς — cf. II. 7, 1 λελυμένων λαμπρῶς τῶν 55 σπονδῶν.

καὶ—the A. army having been defeated already in the night-attack.

3. μὲν—there is no δὲ to answer this, but the antithesis is obvious.

5. ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας—cf. on c. 2, 4 l. 22.

6. ὁ παράλογος—see Intr. p. xxxiii. The A. were as much astonished at their own failure as the rest of Greece had been at their undertaking the expedition. Cf. c. 28, 3.

7. τῆς στρατείας ὁ μ.—‘regret about the expedition.’

§ 2 l. 9. ὁμοιοτρόποις—a remarkable tribute to the advanced state of institutions in the Greek cities of Sicily when we remember Pericles’ panegyric of Athenian τρόποι.

10. ναῦς—this consideration had rendered the acquisition of influence in Sicily very important at the beginning of the Pel. war. Sparta made great efforts to obtain a large fleet there.

11. ἵππους—the Sicilian horses were of proverbial excellence.

μεγέθη—the plur. is often found, though not in Thuc. elsewhere; cf. Herod. II. 10; VII. 103.

12. ἐκ πολιτείας . . . μεταβολῆς—but Alcibiades had urged before the expedition that the cities of Sicily, being populated by motley crowds, ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολάς, VI. 17, 2. It was the invasion that united the various classes sufficiently to prevent revolutions.

τι—Classen makes this adverbial; Stahl makes it object of ἐπενεγκεῖν. Then Classen makes τὸ διάφορον object of ἐπενεγκεῖν; whereas Stahl places comma after μεταβολῆς and makes τὸ δ. object of προσήγοντο. Translate, with Classen’s construction, ‘seeing that of the cities which they had attacked these were the only ones then having institutions similar to their own, governed by democracy and possessing fleets and horses and importance, and as they were unable either through

a change in their constitution in any respect, or by a greatly superior force to make them feel the difference, by which they might have gained power over them, and as they failed oftener than they succeeded, they had before this been in difficulties, and now that they had been defeated by sea as well—which would never have occurred to them—they were in much greater despair.'

**τὸ διάφορον** — variously explained as 'internal discord' (Heilmann), 'change of attitude' (Classen), 'the opposite party' (Stahl). But the context is decidedly in favour of 'the difference between the two sides,' which in this case the A. had no means of bringing home to the enemy, either by causing a revolution in favour of democracy or by coercing them with superior force. For the sense cf. c. 75, 7. (If **τὸ διάφορον** is separated from **ἐπενεγκεῖν** with Stahl, **ἐπενεγκεῖν τι** becomes decidedly obscure, nor is its bearing on **ἡ πόρουν** clear. One of the reasons of the **ἀπορία** was that the A. found they could not make the cities see a difference—or balance—in favour of Athens.)

13. **αὐτοῖς**—after **ἐπενεγκεῖν**, though **πόλεσι** precedes, the inhabitants being substituted for the cities. Stahl takes it with **τὸ διάφορον**.

**ὧ προσήγοντο ἄν**—sc. **τὰς πόλεις**. Cf. the advice of Nicias at the beginning of the expedition **τῶν ἄλλων τινα πόλεων προσαγαγέσθαι**, vi. 47. (Freeman says 'the reference must be mainly or wholly to Syracuse.' There is no ground for this assumption.)

**ἐκ παρασκευῆς πολλῶ κ.**—just as **ἐκ πολιτείας μεταβολῆς** refers to something which the A. had *not* been able to do, so **ἐκ π. πολλῶ κ.** refers to something which they had *not* possessed: for, besides being under democracies, the cities had 'fleets and horses and greatness.' Hence **δημοκρατουμέναις** corresponds with **ἐκ πολιτείας μεταβολῆς**, and **καὶ ναὺς** etc. with **ἐκ π. πολλῶ κρείσσονος**. Thuc. is referring to the *whole course* of the expedition from the start. For the facts alluded to, compare (a) what Hermocrates is made to say before the A. landed—**οὐ πλείους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ ἀστυγεϊτόνων ἔρχονται, πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ δέους ξυνίσταται**, vi. 33, (b) what Athenagoras is made to say—**ἡγοῦμαι . . . τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν αὐτὴν τῆς νῦν στρατιάς . . . καὶ εἰ δις τοσαύτῃ ἔλθοι, πολὺ κρείσσω εἶναι**, vi. 37, (c) what Thuc. says above in c. 28 of the relative size of Syracuse and Athens.

14. **σφαλλόμενοι δὲ τὰ πλείω**—cf. ii. 65, 12 **σφαλέντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ**. He is thinking of the turn which the siege had taken. Cf. i. 69, 5.

15. **τά τε πρὸ αὐτῶν**—i.e. before the sea-fight,—the sense of

αὐτὰ being as often supplied from the context. (The brevity of this passage renders it very obscure. The sense of κρείσσους and πλείω is, I believe, uncertain. κρείσσονος might mean 'larger than that brought by Demosthenes and Eurymedon'; πλείω might imply 'since the arrival of Demosth. and Eur.' The above explanation is only offered as an approximation to the probable meaning.)

17. μάλλον—sc. ἡπόρου.

§ 1 l. 2. ἀδεῶς—even past the A. station.

3. διανοοῦντο κλήσειν—'were resolved that they would close.'

§ 2 l. 6. περὶ τοῦ . . . σωθῆναι . . . τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν—like ἀγών, κίνδυνος περὶ with noun.

8. ἐκείνους—again notice this use of ἐκεῖνος.

9. ἀπό τε τῶν παρόντων—'in consequence of the present circumstances.'

13. καλὸν σφίσι κ.τ.λ.—'the success would appear to the Greeks glorious to them.' There is a metaphor here from the Olympic games. ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας is used with φανείσθαι just as it is with λέγειν when large bodies are addressed. The Greeks are here spectators of the contest.

16. ἐλευθεροῦσθαι—the pres. is here used in a vivid sense for the future.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι—this did not prove to be the case at once. Cf.

II. 65, 12 ὅμως δέκα ἔτη ἀντέειχον.

19. καὶ αὐτοὶ—co-ordinate with τοὺς τε γὰρ l. 15.

αὐτῶν—neut., used as in c. 55, 2 l. 15.

§ 3 l. 21. καὶ ἦν δέ—cf. II. 36 καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα. In this idiom δέ is the connecting particle, while καὶ emphasises the statement. This is a remark added by Thuc. on his own account.

22. οὐχὶ Ἀθηναίων—'it was not the A. only that they were going to conquer, but many of their allies as well, and not by themselves either, but in company with those who had come to their aid—having taken the lead with . . . and having put forward their city in the struggle to take the post of danger and having made a great advance with the fleet.'

23. περιεγίνοντο—the imperf. of γίγνομαι and its compounds is frequently thus used when something about to happen is anticipated. So with δίδωμι and compounds. Cf. Andoc. i. φονεὺς ἐγίγνόμεν τοῦ πατρός='I was near becoming my father's murderer.'

τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν ξυμμάχων—they would be defeating as well their own enemies in Sicily.

24. οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν μόνον—Krüger objects that it would detract from the glory of Syr. to say that they won with the help of



others ; but Thuc. here states with exactness the nature of the success, and is not concerned either to enhance or to detract from it. Their distinction was (a) to have fought side by side with Corinth and Sparta, (b) that Syr. had borne the brunt of the struggle, (c) that thus it had been the chief instrument in destroying the A. empire. 'It was Syracuse, that day the equal yoke-fellow of Cor. and of Sparta, going forth at the head of a crowd of allies, but with Syr. herself the centre and object of the strife, that was called on to strike the blow.' Freeman.

27. ἐμπαρασχόντες—i.e. παρασχόντες ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι. ἐν in compounds has often an adverbial force ; as in II. 44, 1 ἐνευ-  
δαιμονῆσαι = εὐδαιμονῆσαι ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

προκινδυνεύσαι τε—the τε, as Herbst rightly says, joins προκόψαντες with ἐμπαρασχόντες, and προκινδυνεύσαι is in this order because it is an integral part of the phrase.

28. τοῦ ναυτικοῦ . . . προκόψαντες—having opened the way for the navy, by shewing that the A. were not invincible by sea. Cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 23 ; Xen. *Hipparch.* 6, 5.

§ 4 l. 29. ἐπὶ—'to,' whether as friends or as enemies.

31. <πολεμοῦντος>—without some such word we should have to supply ξυνελθόντος, but the ellipse is very awkward, and, as Stahl says, the sense *ad urbem convenire* is absurd.

57

§ 1 l. 1. ἐπὶ Σ. καὶ περὶ Σ.—belongs to ἐπολέμησαν, which is ingressive, = 'went to war.'

4. ἐπὶ Συρακούσαις—Holden retains the MSS. ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, and takes it with ἐλθόντες ; but (1) the order is against this ; (2) ἐπὶ Συρακούσας then impedes the progress of the sentence, since ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τε καὶ περὶ Σ. is supplied with ἐλθόντες (Herbst agrees with Holden ; and he thinks that the form of the sentence is improved).

5. οὐ κατὰ δίκην κ.τ.λ.—'joining one another not so much from a sense of right . . . , but rather as circumstances united the several states either through interest or on compulsion.'

τι μᾶλλον—often used together, or in the form μᾶλλον τι. It is stronger than μᾶλλον. μᾶλλον . . . ἀλλὰ for μᾶλλον . . . ἤ, only found after a neg., gives greater emphasis to the second clause.

6. κατὰ ξυγγένειαν—it will be seen in § 2 fol. that very few of the allies of either side took their side in the war from this motive.

μετ' ἀλλήλων στάντες—the usual construction ; but ἵστασθαι πρὸς τινα is also found.

7. ὡς ἕκαστοι . . . ἔσχον—cf. c. 2, 1 ὡς εἶχεν ἄρχαι.

τῆς ξυντυχίας—'circumstances' which result in decisive action. Here these circumstances are themselves the result of



interest or necessity. Hence the 'circumstances' are feelings that prompt the different states to unite. Cf. I. 33, 3. (No doubt this is what Classen meant by rendering *ὡς τῆς ξ. ἐσχον* 'as they came into a closer relationship.')

§ 2 l. 10. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν κ.τ.λ.—chiasmus again.

12. αὐτοῖς—after τῇ αὐτῇ.

13. ἔτι—with νομίμοις.

Δῆμνιοι—the allies of Athens are enumerated thus: (1) Colonists § 2; (2) Euboea § 4; (3) Cyclades § 4; (4) Asia Minor §§ 4-6; (5) the islands off north-west coast of Greece § 7; (6) Peloponnesians and μισθοφόροι §§ 8-10; (7) allies in Italy and Sicily § 11. Lemnos and Imbros were secured for Athenian cleruchs by Miltiades; and these two with Seyros were regarded as very peculiarly the possessions of the A. in the north.

14. οἱ τότε Αἰγιναν εἶχον—i.e. the A. cleruchs placed there in 431 B.C., when the Aeginetans were expelled by A., and settled by Sparta in Thyrea, the border-land between Argolis and Laconia.

15. Ἔσταιαίς—taken by A. for cleruchs after the reduction of Euboea by Pericles in 445.

16. ἄποικοι—i.e. the κληροῦχοι had by now quite supplanted the older population and taken its name, and were regarded as owners, like the *possessores*.

ἐυνεστράτευσαν—ingressive, 'took the field with them.'

§ 3 l. 17. οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι—Stahl notes that there are two classes of these perpetual and subject allies, viz. (1) ὑπήκοοι καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, (2) ὑπήκοοι οἱ ναυτικὸν παρεχόμενοι or αὐτόνομοι, enjoying their own constitution; viz. Methymna, Chios. These are both distinct from οἱ ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, like Coreyra, Zacynthus, Cephallenia.

§ 4 l. 19. ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑ.—subdivided into those from (1) Euboea, (2) νῆσοι=the Cyclades, (3) Ionia. In the latter Chios is included, but Thuc. adds an explanation that it was not ὑποτελής.

Ἐρετριῆς καὶ Χαλκιδῆς—the two most important towns of Euboea; in early times they were rivals. Chalcis is still the capital of the island, but Eretria is now quite insignificant.

21. νήσων—often used in a restricted sense for the Cyclades. Cf. I. 13, 6; III. 104, 2.

Κεῖοι—cf. Herod. VIII. 46 Κήιοι ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων.

23. τούτων—asyndeton with demonstr., as Herod. IX. 26 with τότε.

25. τὸ πλεῖστον . . . πάντες—'all being Ionians in the main.' There were some Dryopians among the Styrians, and in the Cyclades there were Carians.

ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων — there was an unfounded tradition that Chalcis and Eretria were founded by Athens. As for Ionia and the Cyclades, cf. 1. 12 Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤκισαν.

26. Καρυστίων — Herod. says that the Dryopians had originally lived in Doris and had been driven out through the early migrations.

27. ὁμῶς — with Ἴωνές γε. Though they served under obligation, yet it was natural for them to be on the side of A.

§ 5 l. 29. Μηθυμναῖοι — the only Lesbians who retained their autonomy after the revolt of 428. The Aeolians colonised six places in Lesbos.

30. Αἰνιοὶ — at the mouth of the Hebrus, colonised by Aeolians from Mytilene.

31. Βοιωτοῖς — the Aeolian colonisation proceeded from Thessaly and Boeotia.

33. καὶ ἄντικρυς — 'though outright.' The Plataeans meant are those who escaped at the time of the siege. Athens had given Scione to them for a home.

§ 6 l. 34. Ῥόδιοι — Rhodes was a tripolis, and very early acquired great wealth by its trade, and remained rich until debased by Rome.

Κυθήριοι — seized by Nicias in 424. Athens had retained Cythera contrary to the terms of his peace.

§ 7 l. 41. τῶν περὶ Πελοπόννησον — regular expression for the N.W. islands. Cf. vi. 85 νησιώτας ὄντας . . . ἐν χωρίοις ἐπικαίροις περὶ τὴν Π.; Isocr. xv. 108 τίς οὐκ οἶδε Κόρκυραν ἐν ἐπικαιροτάτῳ καὶ κάλλιστα κειμένην τῶν περὶ Π.;

42. Κεφ. μὲν . . . αὐτ. μὲν, κατὰ δὲ . . . Κερ. δὲ — the extremes and the means are contrasted, as usually with this double use of μὲν . . . δέ. For the islands see on c. 31, 2 l. 8.

43. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ν. — 'as islanders.'

μᾶλλον — the edd. supply ἢ οἱ ἡπειρώται, following Aemilius Portus. It is not easy to detect hereabouts any antithesis between the condition of the islanders and mainlanders. Thuc. means μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντες. Freeman says 'the practical effect of a formally equal alliance between a stronger and a weaker power is well set forth.' (My explanation of μᾶλλον is strongly supported by οὐχ ἡσσον sc. ἢ ἀνάγκη below.)

45. Κορίνθιοι σαφῶς — 'actually Corinthians.' In 492 Corecra had helped Syracuse against Hippocrates of Gela, and once again helped her in the days of Timoleon.

47. ξυγγενεῖς — Corinth being the mother-city of both.

48. ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς — the obligation under which Corecra stood to Athens made a πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς for sinking her obligation to respect her mother-city.

49. **εἶποντο**—the simple verb following the compound of l. 44 is idiomatic.

§ 8 l. 49. **οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν κ.**—*i.e.* not the inhabitants of Messenia or of Messina in Sicily, but **οἱ ἐκ Ν. καὶ ἐκ Π.**, ‘those whom we in our day call Messenians.’ They were descended mostly from **οἱ παλαιοὶ Μεσσήνιοι** l. 101 f. (Stahl says that Thuc. alludes to the fact that some of them were really helots; but it is more likely that he alludes to their change of home at the end of the third Messenian war and in 425 B.C.)

50. **νῦν**—means the time at which he writes. From **τότε** it looks as if Pylus was then no longer in the hands of the A.: if so this sentence was written after A. lost Pylus in 409 B.C.

52. **Μεγαρέων φυγάδες**—expelled in the party struggle of 424 B.C., when Brasidas saved Megara from falling into the hands of A.

53. **Σελινουντίοις**—S. was a colony from Hyblaeon Megara.

**ξυμφορὰν**—*i.e.* their exile. Cf. *calamitosus*.

§ 9 l. 55. **ἤδη**—‘from this point,’ as in II. 96, 3.

**Ἀργεῖοι**—the alliance with A. had been renewed in June 417 B.C.

57. **ἔχθρας**—Argos, long the rival of Sparta, had been humbled by her in 495 B.C.

**τῆς παραντίκα ἕκαστοι ἰδίας ὦ.**—generally understood to mean that they were mercenaries; but the plur. **ἕκαστοι** is against this. Possibly Haacke rightly refers to Spartan and anti-Spartan factions in Argos.

60. **Ἀρκάδων**—already heard of as mercenaries in the Persian wars. Herod. VIII. 26.

**αἰεὶ**—‘at any time.’

62. **οὐδὲν ἦσσαν**—*i.e.* though they belonged to the same race.

65. **Κρησὶ . . . ξυγκτίσαντας**—the same change as in c. 40, 4 al.

67. **μετὰ μισθοῦ ἐλθεῖν**—cf. Isocr. XVII. 46 **μετὰ ποίας ἂν ἐλπίδος ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοῦτον**;

§ 10 l. 69. **Δημοσθένους**—objective. They remembered the victory which they had won in 426 under his lead. See on c. 16, 1 l. 12.

**εὐνόα**—most of the Acarnanians had been allies of A. since 430. See on c. 31, 2 l. 11.

§ 11 l. 71. **κόλπω**—is sometimes omitted with **ὁ Ἰόνιος**.

**Θούριοι καὶ Μ.**—see c. 33, 5.

72. **ἐν τοιαύταις κ.τ.λ.**—‘who, when the Athenians came, had been reduced to such straits by a revolution.’ With **ἐν ἀνάγκαις** cf. **ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ’ ἐνέξενγμαι** Aesch. P. V. 109. **τοιαύταις** means ‘such as induced them to join the A.’ **τότε**

refers to c. 33, 5, where we found that Thurii had to be persuaded, while Metapontum in addition had passed through a crisis (*καίροι*). Now we find that Thurii also had suffered in the same way. (*τοιαύταις* was first explained thus by Bauer. It is obscure. Did Thuc. write *ταῖς αὐταῖς* ; or did he mean by *τοιαύταις* that the *στασιωτικοὶ καιροὶ* of Thurii 'were such as I have described in the case of Metapontum'?)

73. *κατειλημμένοι*—*deprchensi*, sc. *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*.

74. *Νάξιοι καὶ Κ.*—c. 14, 2.

75. *Ἐγισταῖοι*—Segesta, as its coins and the Romans call it, was chief city of the Elymians, who were thought to be Trojans. It was perpetually at war with Selinus. Life was difficult in the W. corner of Sicily owing to the constant rivalry of the Carthaginians and the Greeks there. In 409 Segesta joined Carthage in an attack on Selinus which destroyed for ever the greatness of that city.

*οὔπερ ἐπηγάγοντο*—it is indicative of the falling off of high sentiment at Athens that she had consented to aid the barbarian against a Greek town.

76. *Σικελῶν τὸ πλεόν*—it is easy to see why the majority of the Sicels joined A. They did so early in the campaign of 414, about June, when the 2nd Syracusan counter-wall had failed to check the A. circumvallation and the besieging fleet had command of the Great Harbour, when Syr. was in terror and peace was being discussed there. See also on c. 1, 4. The Sicels hoped to use Athens as a means for diminishing Greek influence in Sicily, and ever since A. had first interfered in Sicily, they had shown a strong tendency to support her.

*Τυρσηνῶν*—cf. c. 53, 2.

78. *τοσάδε . . . ἔθνη*—it must have been very hard to get all these different elements to work with a common will.

58 § 1 l. 1. *Καμαριναῖοι*—see on c. 33, 1, as also for *Γελῶοι*.

3. *Ἀκραγαντίνων*—*Girgenti*, 'the fairest of mortal cities' (Pind. *Pyth.* XII. 1), remained neutral throughout. Cf. on c. 32, 1. The life of Empedocles of Acragas, 484-424, about covers the greatest period in the history of Sicilian art.

*ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἐκείνα* = *μετ' αὐτοῦς* above.

§ 2 l. 4. *οὔδε μὲν*—here *ὅδε* refers to what precedes. This is very rare in prose except in Herod. and Thuc. Cf. c. 58, 2. So with *τοσόσδε* in c. 57, 11 ; 58, 3 ; 59, 1 ; 78, 1.

6. *Ἱμεραῖοι*—see on c. 1, 1 l. 11.

7. *μόνοι*—i.e. they are the only Greeks there.

8. *οἰκοῦσιν*—used elsewhere in proximity to *νέμεσθαι*. These small things show how ancient authors, like modern ones, unconsciously have their mannerisms.



§ 3 l. 9. ἔθνη — of small communities, but referring to difference of origin.

11. Σικελοὶ μόνοι — no Elymians, Sicans, or Phoenicians joined Syr.

14. νεοδαμῶδεις — see on c. 19, 3. With the helots they numbered 600 hoplites; Eccritus, a Spartan, had been sent in command of them, but he must have returned.

17. μόνοι — the C. alone sent both ships and infantry. The Leucadians and Ambraciots sent ships only.

Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀ. — were allies of Sparta. Corinth was their mother-city.

20. ἀναγκαστοὶ — see on c. 19, 4 l. 33, and Index s.v.

§ 4 l. 21. πρὸς — ‘in comparison with.’

23. μεγάλας — not that they were greater than Corinth and Sparta, but because their cities were large they needed less support from outside.

25. ἄλλος ὄμιλος — light-armed troops. ὄμιλος is confined to poetry, Herod., Thuc., and late authors. Thuc. uses it often.

§ 1 l. 3. οὐκέτι οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. — the object of this emphatic statement is to show that now the deciding struggle — the ἀγὼν μέγιστος — was at hand. 59

§ 2 l. 4. δ’ οὖν — resumes from c. 56.

5. καλὸν ἀγώνισμα . . . εἶναι — cf. c. 56, 2; 86.

6. ἐπὶ — ‘as a consequence of.’

7. εἶεν τε τὸ σ. — ‘to capture the whole of that vast army,’ στρατόπεδον being the besieging force wherever it was stationed.

9. μηδὲ καθ’ ἕτερα = κατὰ μηδέτερα.

§ 3 l. 10. ἔκληνον — apparently they left a narrow opening (διέκπλους) which was guarded by chains.

14. ἦν — ‘in case,’ like εἴ πως, εἰ ἄρα.

15. ὀλίγον οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. — cf. II. 8 ὀλίγον ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφοτέροι; Aristoph. *Eq.* 387 μηδὲν ὀλίγον ποιεῖ. νῦν γὰρ ἔχεται μέσος; Plut. *Demetr.* 43 μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐφρόνουν.

§ 1 l. 2. τὴν ἄλλην διάνοιαν — ‘their ulterior purpose.’ 60

βουλευτέα — the plur. of the verbal replacing the sing. is esp. common in Thuc.

§ 2 l. 4. ταξίαρχοι — not usually present at the council.

6. ἐκπλευσόμενοι — i.e. before the eclipse.

7. ἔμελλον — here introduces *Oratio Obliqua*.

9. τὰ ἄνω — Epipolae was to be abandoned. There is nothing to show that they had quitted it before this, as Arnold thought.

10. διατειχίσματι — by fencing round a space at the end of the double wall.

14. τοῦ ἄλλου — those who were not needed to guard the narrow space.

22. ἀντιλήψεσθαι—'gain'; the word implies secure possession. So with ἀντίληψις, seizure, grip, objection.

§ 3 l. 23. ὥς . . . καὶ—see on c. 43, 1.

26. καὶ ὁπωσοῦν—with ἐπιτήδειος.

ἡλικίας μετέχων—i.e. not altogether ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας (II. 44, 4), and so fit for military service. This must mean that non-combatants were to be used, for none of the regular troops could have been otherwise than ἡ μετέχων.

ἐπιτήδειος—opposite of ἀχρεῖος or ἀχρηστος, in a military sense.

§ 4 l. 27. καὶ—'and so.'

31. ἐξ ἀναγκαίου—'in desperate straits'; best taken alone as an adverbial phrase. (Some edd. make ἀν. fem. agreeing with διανοίας, but τοιαύτης is then very awkward.) Adverbial phrases with ἐκ are very common.

τοιαύτης—sc. ἐκ, 'from the nature of their plan,' i.e. considering the difficulties that it involved.

§ 5 l. 35. κρατηθῆναι—alluding to cc. 52-3.

61 § 1 l. 2. ἄλλων—see c. 4, 3.

ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν—'in the coming struggle every one of us will be fighting for country and for life just as much as the enemy. If we win this battle at sea, every individual may see again his own home, wherever it may be.' There is a different nuance in πατρίδος as applied to the A. and the Syr. For the use of τῷ cf. Eur. *Heraclid.* 826 καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεῶν.

§ 2 l. 8. ἀθυμεῖν δὲ κ.τ.λ.—'but we must not despair, nor must we allow ourselves to feel like raw recruits, for whom a defeat in their first battle fills all the future with foreboding of similar misfortunes.' τὴν ἐλπίδα is defined by τοῦ φόβου as 'an expectation that falls in the sphere of fear.' Cf. Plat. *Laws* p. 644 C κοινὸν μὲν ὄνομα ἐλπίς, ἴδιον δὲ φόβος μὲν ἢ πρὸ λύπης ἐλπίς, θάρρος δὲ ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς means the reverses they have met with.

§ 3 l. 13. ἀλλ' ὅσοι τε—'no; all of you who are A., with the experience of many wars, all of you who are allies, our constant companions in arms, remember how calculation is baffled in war, and, in hopes that fortune may yet be with us, and resolved, as you see your army before you, to renew the struggle in a manner worthy of your numbers, prepare.'

14. πάρεστε—occasionally the 3rd person is found in such rel. clauses; e.g. Andoc. 1, 46 ὁπόσοι ὑμῶν παρήσαν, ἀναμνησθεσθε; Lys. 12, 97. So in Latin poets, as Ovid *Trist.* III. 4, 75 *et quia quisque potest aliqua mala nostra levate*. See also on c. 64, 2.

16. τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις παραλόγων—Thuc. insists on the

uncertainty, the inconsequence, of war so often because he regards history, under normal conditions, as effect following ascertainable causes. He introduced into history the notion of law.

17. τὸ τῆς τύχης — denoting a power acting by some inscrutable method. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 785 τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀφανὲς οἱ προβήσεται. τὰ τῆς τύχης are the manifestations of this power.

κὰν μεθ' ἡμῶν . . . στήναι—cf. c. 77, 3 ἱκανὰ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμοῖς ὑπύχεται. Other statements by Nicias of a like nature, showing how firmly he believed in the distribution during life of rewards and punishments, are found in v. 16, 1; vi. 11, 6; 23, 3. It is the idea that meets us in Aeschylus and Herodotus.

18. ἀναμαχοῦμενοι—generally with an accus., as Plato *Hip. Maj.* p. 286 D ἵεναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, ἀναμαχοῦμενος τὸν λόγον.

19. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν—attracted into the rel. clause, like ἕκαστος.

§ 1 l. 1. "Α δὲ ἀρωγὰ κ.τ.λ.—'we on our side have discussed with the pilots and have provided all the means in our power which we found would help us in the narrow space of the harbour against the difficulties that gave us trouble before, namely the crowding of the vessels and the enemy's men on deck.'

62

ἐπὶ—describes the circumstances, as in II. 17 προῆδαι μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθῆσόμενον.

5. παρασκευὴν—force. For the fact see c. 40, 5.

οἷς—neut., referring to ὄχλος and παρασκευή.

6. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων—cf. c. 77, 1.

§ 2 l. 8. καὶ γὰρ τοξόται κ.τ.λ.—'there will be many archers and javelin men on board and very many whom in a battle out at sea we should not have thought of using, since the overweighting of the ships would impede our skill; but here being forced to fight a land battle aboard ship, we shall find the plan convenient.'

11. διὰ τὸ βλάπτειν ἄν—frequent use. of the infin. with art. is a mark of the speeches and the higher style.

14. πρόσφορα—the rel. ᾧ is lost sight of. Cf. Herod. ix. 21 τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν . . . καὶ πρόσσος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγένετο. For the plur. cf. c. 43, 2.

§ 3 l. 14. ἡύρηται δ' ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.—'we have worked out all the plans needed on our side in the construction of our vessels, and to meet the thick beams on the enemy's prows which gave us most trouble, we have arranged iron grapnels, which when thrown at them will prevent any ship that has struck us from backing, if the marines work well afterwards.' ἡύρηται ἡμῖν, like ἡτοίμασται above, is another example of the preference for the impers. pass. in Gk.

16. **παχύτητας**—the plur. of the abstract used distributively, as also ἐπιβολαί. ὥπερ is like ἐν ᾧ referring to a preceding clause.

18. **τῆς προσπεσούσης**—ἐκάστης π.; cf. c. 65, 2 τῆς νεώς.

19. **τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις**—‘what follows,’ i.e. boarding the ships. Cf. Aristoph. *Eccles.* 82 τὰπὶ τούτοις δράσομεν.

§ 4 l. 19. **ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**—‘in fact we have, as I said, been forced into fighting.’ For ἐς τοῦτο . . . ὥστε cf. c. 48, 3.

23. **ὅσον ἂν . . . ἐπέχῃ**—‘so much as our troops will occupy.’

63 § 1 l. 1. **ᾧν χρὴ κ.τ.λ.**—‘Bear this in mind, and fight to the end with all your strength; and do not be driven ashore, but when two ships strike, do not let them drive you off until you have cleared the heavy troops from the enemy’s deck.’

4. **πρότερον . . . ἢ . . . ἀπαράξῃτε**—πρότερον . . . ἢ occasionally stands for πρότερον . . . πρὶν with subj., indic. or infin. in Herod. and Thuc., but very rarely in other authors, as Demosth. 31, 12 (early speech) πρότερον τοὺς ὅρους ἔστησεν ἢ ἐκείνον τὴν δίκην ὀφλεῖν. The subj. without ἂν in temporal sentences—after πρὶν, πρὶν ἢ, μέχρι—is also a mark of early prose.

6. **ἀπαράξῃτε**—cf. c. 6, 3 l. 21.

§ 2 l. 6. **καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.**—‘I am now addressing not so much the sailors as the soldiers, as it is on the men on deck that this duty mainly falls: and at present we have still the advantage of them in most points with our infantry.’ The last clause betrays the speaker’s want of confidence.

§ 3 l. 11. **τοῖς δὲ ναύταις**—‘Sailors, I urge, nay more, I entreat you, not to be in any way too overcome by your misfortunes; you have now better arrangements above, and a greater number of ships. Think, I beg you, how well worth preserving is the pleasant feeling that, being thought Athenians so long even if you are not so, by your knowledge of our language and your imitation of our institutions you were admired in Greece, and—as far as advantages go—had as great a share as we in our empire, while, in the matter of respect from our subjects and immunity from wrong, you had much more than we.’ This § appears to start with the 3rd pers., which is changed for the 2nd in ἐθανυμάζεσθε (l. 18); but the Gk. orators habitually mingle statements about people with direct address to them in this way.

12. **τῷδε**—i.e. ἐν τῷ παραινέειν.

15. **τὴν ἡδονὴν**—the pleasure which he describes in the rel. clause following.

16. **οἷ**—the antecedent, ὑμῖν, is omitted. The sentence ἀξία ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονὴ διασώσασθαι οἷ . . . ἐθανυμάζεσθε is constructed like τὸ δ’ εὐτυχές, οἷ ἂν . . . λάχωσιν in II. 44, 1.



**Ἀθηναῖοι νομιζόμενοι**—he means the *ξένοι* and *μέτοικοι* serving as *ναῦται*; at the same time he lays stress on the influence of the Athenian *ὄχλος ναυτικός*. So in [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* I. 2 οἱ κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ κελευσταὶ καὶ . . . οἱ πρῶράται καὶ οἱ ναυπηγοί, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθέντες τῇ πόλει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοί. There was promotion from the lowest position as a rower to the highest as *κυβερνήτης*. There would be few true-born Athenians amongst the *ναῦται* now owing to the disasters in Sicily. Prob. many *θῆτες*, who ordinarily served as sailors, were employed as hoplites.

18. **τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ**—causal with *θαυμάζω*, as IV. 85, 3; with *φοβοῦμαι* II. 89, 6.

**τῶν τρόπων**—the private habits as contrasted with the *πολιτεία*, the public institutions, of Athens. The A. prided themselves both on their *πολιτεία* and on their *τρόποι*.

**ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα**—Thuc., owing to his own exile and his travels, would have good reason to know the fact and to appreciate the value of the *ἡδονή*.

20. **ὥς τε τὸ φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις**—some of the *μέτοικοι* whom N. is supposed to be addressing must have been *by origin ὑπήκοοι*, so that Thuc. prob. means that those of them who had served in the A. fleet were regarded with awe in their own cities. *φοβερὸν* = 'causing fear'; cf. on c. 42, 3.

22. **πολὺ πλεῖον**—chiasmus with *οὐκ ἔλασσον*. This passage, besides containing an exaggeration (see crit. note), seems rather lacking both in taste and in tact, even when we remember that most of the doubtful supporters of A. had deserted. But it must be remembered that none of the speeches in Thuc., and least of all the military harangues, could possibly have been delivered. See Appendix I.

§ 4 l. 22. **ὥστε κοινωνοὶ κ.τ.λ.**—'with you alone we freely share our empire; it is but just that you should not betray it now; rather, filled with scorn of the Corinthians whom you have often defeated and of the Sicilian Greeks, not one of whom even dared to face us so long as our fleet was at its best, repel them, and show that in spite of sickness and disaster your science is superior to another's confidence while succeeding.'

23. **ἐλευθέρως**—always understood to mean 'while retaining your freedom' and compared with VI. 85, 2 *ἐλευθέρως ξυμμαχοῦντες*. It implies this too; but it is meant as an allusion to the generous spirit in which A. had treated them. Cf. II. 37, 2 *ἐλευθέρως τὰ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν*.

24. **καταφρονήσαντες**—*paronomasia* with preceding word. The aor. is ingressive.

27. ἡκμαζε τὸ ναυτικὸν—the decline of the naval power of Athens meant the decline of her empire over the imagination of Greece.

30. ἑτέρας—for ἐτέρων, but preferred so as to correspond with ὑμετέρα.

εὐτυχούσης — contrasted with καὶ μετ' ἀσθενείας καὶ ξ. Observe this very common use of μετὰ with abstract nouns.

64 § 1 l. 1. τοὺς τε Ἀ. κ.τ.λ.—‘Those of you who are A. I once again remind that you have at home no ships in the docks like these, no men fit for service, and that in the event of any other issue than victory, your enemies here will immediately sail thither, and our friends who are left there will not be strong enough to repel our enemies on the spot together with the invaders. And so, while you will immediately be at the mercy of Syr.—and you know yourselves the purpose you had in attacking them—your countrymen will be at the mercy of Sparta.’

2. οὔτε ναῦς—at the beginning of the Pel. war, the A. had 300 ships ready, and shortly afterwards a reserve fleet of 100 ships was created. The normal strength of the fleet during the war was over 300.

4. ἡλικίαν—concrete, like νεότης, and *juventus*. The abstract term represents the young men as a power in the state.

5. τι ἄλλο ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν—Euphemism in alluding to defeat is very common, and Gk. authors habitually avoid close reference to the scene of a disaster.

6. ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα—alluding, like ἐκεῖ, to Athens; both words were often so used by persons abroad.

§ 2 l. 11. Ὡστε κ.τ.λ. — ‘Therefore, in this one struggle having to defend both yourselves and them, stand firm now, if ever, and reflect each and all that you who are now to embark are also to the Athenians infantry and ships and all that remains of the state, and the great name of Athens. In defence of these, if any man excel in skill or courage, let him show them now; he could not find a better chance to display them for his own benefit and for the safety of all.’ In this epilogue the end proposed by the speaker (τὸ τέλος Arist. *Rhet.* B. 19, 26; τελικὸν κεφάλαιον Hermogenes calls it) is τὸ συμφέρον, having before been τὸ καλόν. These two topics (τόποι) are extremely common in military harangues.

ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων—alluding to οἱ μὲν in l. 9 and οἱ δ' in l. 10.

12. καθεστῶτες — with ἐν as in Herod. vii. 139, but far commoner with ἐς. Cf. παρεστάναι ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ Andoc. ii. 24.

13. καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ ξ.—the mass is to act as a whole, and yet each individual is to feel that the safety of the mass

rests with him. It is again brought out below in *αὐτός τε αὐτῷ* . . . *καὶ τοῖς ξύμπασι*.

14. *ύμῶν* . . . *εἰσὶ*—with 'partitive' gen. 1st or 2nd person, the verb is generally in the 3rd pers.

16. *καὶ νῆες*—the statement *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ νῆες εἰσὶ* is not very sane. Apparently Thuc. has in mind that the ships which are to take part and which cannot be replaced will not manœuvre—*ἡναγκάσμεθα πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν*—so that the A. would be depending much less than usual on their ships and much more on their men. A ship when manned was to the Gks. a living thing. Here the ships will be manned, and yet will be inert. Before condemning the words right out we must notice the train of thought that has led Thuc. to write them. (The speech from c. 63, 3 to the end is not a good example of composition. See Appendix I.)

17. *τὸ μέγα ὄνομα*—Isocr. 6 § 110 *μὴ καταισχυνοῦναι τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ὄνομα*.

18. *περὶ ὧν*—prob. neuter, applying to *πεζοὶ καὶ νῆες*, etc.

*προφέρει* = *προέχει*, but used so only by Herod., Thuc., and poets.

§ 1 l. 4. *παρῆν μὲν κ.τ.λ.*—'as they saw the arrangements actually being made, could see that the A. intended to fight.' 65

7. *ἡ ἐπιβολή*—'the device for flinging.'

§ 2 l. 9. *ὥς ἕκαστα*—this use of *ἕκατερος* and *ἕκαστος* with *ὥς* and without a verb, after appearing in Herod. and Thuc., first reappears in Aristotle.

10. *ἐπὶ πολὺ*—as often, this replaces an accus. of the object.

11. *ὅπως ἂν ἀπολισθάνοι*—*ὅπως ἂν* appears with opt. in final clauses in Homer, Herod., only here in Thuc., and four times in Xen., and in Aesch. *Ag.* 364.

§ 1 l. 1. *"Οτι μὲν καλὰ κ.τ.λ.*—'That our past exploits have been glorious, that it is a glorious future for which we are about to fight, most of you, we think, know: otherwise you would not have devoted yourselves with such enthusiasm to your task. But if any man has not so clear a perception of this as he should have, we will make it plain.' *αὐτῶν* = *τῶν προειργασμένων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων*. 66

§ 2 l. 7. *Ἀθηναίους γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*—'the A., who came to this country intending first to enslave S. and then, if they succeeded, the Pel. as well and the rest of Greece—the A. who possess an empire at present the largest of all that belong or ever have belonged to Greeks, you, the first to withstand their navy that gave them all their power, have already defeated in several battles by sea and are probably going to defeat again now.' Observe the construction of this admirable sentence, and esp. the order.

10. ἔπειτ'—as καὶ follows, we should perhaps read ἔπειτα δὲ with B, since ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ is the regular formula.

14. τῷ ναυτικῷ—for the dat. after ὑφίστασθαι see L. and S. This is the only instance in Thuc., since in II. 61, 4, which edd. compare, συμφορὰς τὰς μεγίστας ὑφίστασθαι is the true reading.

§ 3 l. 16. ἄνδρες γὰρ κ.τ.λ.—‘for when men are humbled in that wherein they claim to excel, what remains of their self-respect is more thoroughly weakened than if they had not thought to excel (sc. προῦχειν) from the first, and while receiving a check from the unexpected outcome of their boast, they give way even more than their real strength necessitates. This we may suppose to be the case with the A. now.’

18. αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ—a rhetorical device for exhibiting the change in the condition of a thing, which none the less retains its identity.

19. τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ αὐχήματος—if taken together, with Classen and Böhme, this balances παρὰ ἰσχὺν τῆς δυνάμεως better than if τοῦ αὐχήματος is put with σφαλλόμενοι, and τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα (=unexpectedly) taken alone, with Bloomfield, Arnold, and Stahl. See Appendix II.

21. ὁ νῦν—‘the speaker shows that while they themselves might well anticipate *victory*, their enemies will look forward to nothing but *defeat*, and consequently will fail to exert the power which they have.’ Bloomfield.

67 § 1 l. 1. ἡμῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.—‘with us the spirit which we had before, in which while still inexperienced we made a desperate venture, is now surer, and as we have added to it a conviction that we must be the strongest if we have defeated the strongest, every man's hope is doubled; and as a rule, in any enterprise, the greater a man's hope the greater is his readiness.’ ἡμῶν τὸ ὑπάρχον is our *natural* spirit, ὑπάρχω being habitually used of a nation's qualities and mental characteristics. ἡμῶν is emphatic.

3. δοκίσεως—this word is found only in Herod. and Thuc. among prose authors.

4. τοῦ κρατίστους εἶναι—here, as in c. 36, 5 and VIII. 87, the MSS. give τό, but it is unlikely that Thuc. alone, and in these three places only, should have put the accus. to explain a gen. or dat. See Appendix II. κρατίστους . . . κρατίστους is *traductio*.

§ 2 l. 9. Τά τε τῆς κ.τ.λ.—‘The counterfeits of our method which they have devised are customary in our mode of fighting, and we shall be prepared for every one of them. But they will have a number of heavy infantry on deck contrary to custom, and a number of javelin men from Acarnania and elsewhere,



mere landsmen aboard ship for the most part, who will not even find out how to discharge their javelins in a sitting position. Must they not endanger the ships and be thrown into utter confusion when they do not move in their usual manner?'

14. τὸ καθεστηκὸς—the 'established custom' of all navies.

15. χερσαῖοι, ὡς εἰπεῖν—most commentators since Bauer say that ὡς εἰπεῖν 'so to speak' is added because χερσαῖος is used esp. of animals. This is very improbable: elsewhere in Thuc. ὡς εἰπεῖν qualifies an universal statement, as II. 51; III. 38, 39, 82; VI. 30; VIII. 5, 96. There is no passage in which it is certainly used in any other sense; nor is it clear that χερσαῖος necessarily suggests animals.

18. καθεζομένουσ—prob. literal, and not merely 'cramped' as Gölter thought.

22. ταραζόνται—see on c. 36, 6. So ὠφελήσομαι is often used in pass. sense.

§ 3 l. 22. ἐπεὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ.—'for the number of their ships will be no advantage to them, in case any of you are alarmed about your numerical inferiority in the coming battle. In a small space many will be slower in accomplishing their object, and completely exposed to injury from our devices.'

πλήθει—often used of superior numbers.

27. ἐς τὸ βλάπτεσθαι—the construction, as Classen says, is influenced by ἐς τὸ δρᾶν. Elsewhere ῥάδιος takes plain infin. Cf. II. 11, 5 πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιέναι εὐψυχότατοι, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι.

ἀφ' ὧν—for ἀπ' ἐκείνων ᾶ—i.e. the nom. of the rel. is attracted. This is very unusual, and this is the only instance in Thuc.

§ 4 l. 28. τὸ δ' ἀληθέστατον κ.τ.λ.—'assure yourselves of a plain fact from information which we think to be clear: it is because their distress is overpowering and because they are forced by their present misery that they are reduced to the desperate expedient of risking a battle as best they can, trusting more to fortune than to orderly preparation. Their purpose is either to force their way out by sea or to retreat by land after the battle; for they know that their plight could not possibly be worse than it is.'

30. βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ—see on c. 13 l. 13.

παρασκευῆς . . . τύχης—the same antithesis in IV. 55. So γνώμη and τύχη are very often contrasted. Thuc. thinks of Nicias. But παρασκευῇ is not 'actual force' here, as Bloomfield and Arnold say, but it is τὸ παρεσκευάσθαι, the opposite of ἀταξία in c. 68, 1.

§ 1 l. 1. Πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν κ.τ.λ.—'Therefore against such

disorderly and such bitter enemies whose fortune has already submitted, let us advance with eagerness, and let us think that men act lawfully towards an enemy, when purposing to retaliate upon the aggressor they determine to satisfy their heart's animosity, and also that we shall have the delight of repelling our foes, and that this is proverbially most pleasant.'

ἀταξίαν . . . καὶ τύχην—referring back to παρασκευῆς and τύχης.

4. νομιμώτατον εἶναι . . . οἱ ἄν—this kind of combination is idiomatic and occurs throughout Attic. Cf. on c. 63, 3 l. 16. From the analogy of other constructions in Gk., and from a comparison of the instances, it is more likely that the idiom is based on a brachylogy than on a combination of two constructions. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. 3, 51 νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷου δεῖ, ὅς ἄν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη.

5. ὥς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ—ἐπὶ and a noun frequently take the place of a final clause.

6. δικαιοῶσιν—an Ionic and old Attic word.

7. ἀποπλῆσαι—*explore*, as τὴν φιλονικίαν ἐκπιμπλάναι III. 82, 8.

τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον—cf. I. 90 τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς γνώμης; II. 59 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γ.; III. 10, 1 τὸ διαλάσσειν τῆς γ.; V. 9 τὸ ἀνειμένον τῆς γ. For τὸ θυμούμενον 'wrath' cf. Eur. *Hec.* 299.

8. ἐκγενησόμενον—the partic. depends on νομίσωμεν, in spite of the infin. δίκαιον εἶναι (and ἡδιστον εἶναι). But then with the partic. νομίσωμεν = εἰδῶμεν.

9. καὶ . . . ἡδιστον εἶναι—sc. τὸ ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι. They are to think that their conduct (1) νομιμώτατον εἶναι—is in accordance with custom and right, (2) ἡδιστον εἶναι—is in accordance with the proverb that expresses that custom. (I am unable to accept the interpretation hitherto given of this passage. See crit. note.)

τὸ λεγόμενόν που—this is in accordance with the ancient love of revenge; but Thuc., like Euripides, had reason to know that there was something better. Cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 877 τί τὸ κάλλιον | παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς | ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς | τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέχειν; For the proverb cf. Juv. 13, 180 *at vindicta bonum vita jucundius ipsa*, where Mayor refers to *Iliad* XVIII. 108.

§ 2 l. 9. ὥς δὲ ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.—'that they are our enemies, nay our bitterest enemies, you all know: for they invaded our land to make us slaves; and had they succeeded in that, they would have inflicted on our men the worst penalty (*i.e.* death), on our wives and children the worst indignities (*i.e.* slavery), on the whole city the most disgraceful reproach (*i.e.* dependence).'

§ 3 l. 14. ἀνθ' ὧν μὴ κ.τ.λ.—‘wherefore no man should feel for them, nor think it gain that they should depart without danger to us. That is all they will do even if they win the battle; but the prize—to punish them when we have gained our desire, as we probably shall do, and to confirm for the whole of Sicily the liberty which she already enjoyed—is a glorious one. How few ventures there are in which the loss in case of failure is as small as the gain through success is great.’

15. **τινα**—cf. c. 61, 1.

**ἀκινδύνως**—certainly not ‘without doing us further harm’ (Holden); which would involve a paradox that would scarcely be convincing to men who had suffered so much; but ‘without our having to run (a further) risk,’ as is shown by ἀγών and, above all, by κινδύνων below.

18. **πραξάντων**—sc. ἡμῶν. Beside εἶ (κακῶς, etc.) ποιεῖν, πράττειν, neut. plur. adj. are regularly used with ποιεῖν, πράττειν.

**ἀβουλόμεθα**—sc. πρᾶξαι, not, as Krüger, the fate which we wish for *them*, but for *ourselves*. Victory is meant.

19. **καὶ τῇ πάσῃ Σ.**—‘Confirmed the charters that were yours before;—| No parleying now! In Britain is one breath.’ Wordsworth, *To the Men of Kent*.

20. **βεβαιοτέραν παραδοῦναι**—the language is taken from the tenure of property. καρποῦσθαι is in contrast with the βεβαιοτέρα κτῆσι which is to be bestowed (παραδοῦναι) on them. The subject changes at παραδοῦναι.

21. **καλὸς ὁ ἀγών**—notice that ὁ ἀγών is in apposition with τὸ . . . κολασθῆναι . . . καὶ παραδοῦναι, for this is the right way of taking the words, instead of making τὸ κολασθῆναι καὶ παραδοῦναι subject and ὁ ἀγών part of the pred., as the edd. say.

**κινδύνων κ.τ.λ.**—the speech ends with a γνώμη, or general truth, a form of close of which Thuc. is very fond. Cf. c. 77 end.

**σπανιώτατοι**—again we have the accumulation of superlatives noticed at c. 42, 3 l. 34.

22. **σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες**—σφάλω and βλάπτω are often near neighbours.

§ 1 l. 1. **Καὶ οἱ μὲν**—the description of the last battle has been much admired both in ancient and in modern times. Dionysius Hal. quotes much of it and praises it warmly; it is also commended by Lucian, and by Gibbon, Gray, Macaulay. 69

4. **ἥσθάνοντο**—sc. πληροῦντας τὰς ναῦς.

§ 2 l. 8. **ὅπερ πάσχουσιν**—sc. οἱ ἄνθρωποι, which is very often omitted thus; e.g. Plat. *Crat.* p. 387 c ὀνομάζοντες γὰρ που λέγουσι τοὺς λόγους.

10. **σφίσιν**—i.e. Nicias and his men.

11. αὐτοῖς—prob. = 'to them,' *i.e.* τοῖς στρατιώταις: but Classen takes it to mean 'by them,' *i.e.* τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

13. ἀνεκάλει—'called by name,' )( ἀποκαλεῖν.

πατρόθεν τε ἐπονομάζων—'mentioning the father's name as well (ἐπ-).' Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* c. 21 ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριττῶς.

14. αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ—does not add any fresh information, but heightens the impressiveness of the description.

φυλὴν—men were officially addressed by the name of their deme; but here the tribe is chosen because of its military character.

τό τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.—'admonishing those who had any reputation of their own not to be false to it.' τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν is taken as object of προδιδόναι, and the schol. explains it as τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετὴν; but elsewhere in Thuc. τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν means either (1) *in person*, used adverbially, as in Demosth. 21, 140 τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὅπως δύναται, Aristoph. *Eq.* 513 χορὸν αἰτοίῃ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, or (2) *his own division*; and it may well be used in the former sense here. But it should be connected with what follows, in the sense ᾧ ὑπῆρχε λαμπρότητός τι τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, the order being modified for the sake of the antithesis with τὰς π. ἀρετάς.

17. οἱ πρόγονοι—observe the sentiment in which the last appeal of Nicias is grounded. Thuc. knew well that the reverence felt by his countrymen for the past was excessive; cf. l. 22 below. Pericles also certainly discouraged this excess and tried to direct the A. to the future. But Thuc. is right in making N. lay stress on the glory of the past here, and no doubt N. really did so. ἀρετὰς is 'deeds of valour' as usual.

ἀφανίζειν—contrasted with ἐπιφανεῖς.

18. πατρίδος τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης—the order puts emphasis on the adj., and the statement is true of Athens itself; but she had unduly neglected the claims of her subjects and thus enabled Sparta to raise the cry of ἐλευθερία by which a great part of Greece was deluded.

ὑπομνήσκων—this word is often used when people are reminded of something dear to them and absent, for which they feel a longing (πόθος).

19. τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ. = 'ὅτι ἐκάστω ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεπιτάκτως δαιτᾶσθαι ἔξεστι.' Classen. 'It is noteworthy that this special feature of the great democracy should be the one picked out at such an hour as this as the thing which had gone further than anything to endear Athens to her children.' Freeman. Pericles in the Funeral Oration says 'In our daily intercourse we are as tolerant as in our public life . . . we are not angry with our neighbour for doing as he pleases.' II. 37, 2.

20. ἀλλὰ τε—τε joins λέγων to the preceding words.



21. τοῦ καιροῦ—cf. c. 2 l. 22.

οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ.—‘all that men would say, not guarding against seeming to talk commonplaces, and urging what does duty on all occasions (ὕπερ πάντων) to the same effect about wives and children and ancestral gods; still because they think it to be useful, they appeal to it.’

23. καὶ ὑπέρ—with this καὶ supply εἶποιεν ἄν, but not ὅσα, since the influence of the relative is as usual lost in the second member of the sentence; and so Thuc. ceases to tell us directly what Nicias said, and instead tells us what men always say under such circumstances. And so ἐπιβοῶνται (see note below) is added at the end. (Hitherto there have been two explanations of this καί: (1) Göller, followed by most modern edd., takes καὶ as ‘though,’ so that the following words are in apposition to ὅσα; (2) καὶ=‘and,’ joins προφερόμενα to the idea contained in οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν . . . φυλαξάμενοι, which virtually=ἀρχαῖα, note in Jowett. Both explanations require that ἐπιβοῶνται should be considered grammatically dependent on ὅσα; but this is not likely, and καὶ ὑπέρ κ.τ.λ. comes in very awkwardly on either of the two suppositions.) The lit. rendering is ‘and they would say things which are brought forward on all occasions.’

παραπλήσια—pred. to προφερόμενα.

ἔς τε γυναικας—cf. ἐς after many verbs of saying, as ἄδειν, ἀνίστασθαι, ποιεῖν (‘to compose’).

24. θεοὺς πατρώους—esp. Apollo and Zeus; prob. also Athena.

25. ἀλλ’—the influence of ὅσα being entirely lost, ἀλλ’ . . . ἐπιβοῶνται is contrasted with ὅσα . . . εἶποιεν ἄν οὐ φυλαξάμενοι . . . , καὶ (εἶποιεν ἄν) . . . προφερόμενα.

26. ἐπιβοῶνται—sc. τὰ . . . προφερόμενα. So III. 59, 2 θεοὺς ἐπιβοῶμενοι; VIII. 92 ἐπιβοῶμενον . . . μὴ ἀπολέσαι τὴν πατρίδα. This meaning of ἐπιβοᾶσθαι ‘to invoke’=ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is not to be found in Attic prose outside Thuc.

§ 3 l. 1. ἀναγκαῖα—what would just suffice.

3. πείδον—see c. 60, 2.

§ 4 l. 12. τὸν παρακλησθέντα, διέκπλουν — ‘the opening that had been closed,’ with chains. When the ζεύγμα had been formed by the Syr., they must have left a gap in the centre to admit their own ships. Doubtless this gap could be closed with chains, as in the case of λιμένες κληστοί. See c. 70 l. 15. (None of the MSS. readings yield a satisfactory sense; παραλειφθέντα is strongly supported, but there is no sign in the narrative that there was a gap left open. In any case Thuc. has here, as elsewhere, neglected to tell us something which he should have told us.)

70

§ 1 l. 1. προεξαγαγόμενοι—‘putting off before them.’

3. καὶ—atque.

7. αἱ νῆες—sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

8. τοῖς Συρακοσίοις—does the dat. with ἄρχειν answer the question ‘where,’ or ‘for whom’? Cf. II. 2, 1 Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους.

§ 2 l. 11. οἱ ἄλλοι—‘the A. on their part’; ἄλλος being exclusive.

13. τῶν τεταγμένων νεῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ—this order of the prep. and case is not very uncommon in the best prose.

16. σφίσι—should be αὐτοῖς, as οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι is not the subj. of the principal verb (ἐγίγνετο).

17. οὐ πρὸς τῷ ζεύγματι κ.τ.λ.—‘the fight, the fiercest fight of the whole war, became general, not in the shape of two great fleets meeting each other in ordered array, but in that of a crowd of separate battles going on everywhere at once, over the whole surface of the Great Harbour.’ Freeman.

§ 3 l. 26. ἐθεράπευον—ἐπεμελοῦντο.

μὴ λείπεσθαι—‘that these on deck should not fall behind the rest in skill,’ the combatants being contrasted with the sailors and pilots. With τῆς ἄλλης τέχνης cf. ἐτέρας εὐτυχοῦσης ῥώμης c. 63 l. 30.

28. τέ—‘in fact,’ summing up the preceding details. ‘Chacun enfin, à sa poste, brûlait de paraître le premier.’ Girard.

§ 4 l. 33. ἐμβολαὶ . . . προσβολαὶ—the distinction drawn in note on c. 34 l. 25 accords with Poppo. But the explanation of Arnold fits the passage better: ἐμβολή, Arn. says, is the attack made by a ship with her beak, in the regular manner. Προσβολή is more general. Here it denotes accidental collisions. But elsewhere it means a regular charge.

ἀνακρούσεις . . . διέκπλους—see on c. 36, 4 ll. 29, 37.

36. ἄλλη—sc. νηί.

§ 5 l. 37. προσφέροιτο—opt. of indef. frequency again.

41. ἐπιβαίνειν—here with simple dat.; usually with ἐπὶ and accus.; or, meaning ‘to set foot in,’ with gen. Cf. the use of ἐπὶ with either gen. or dat. in a local sense.

§ 6 l. 42. ξυνετύγχανέ τε—‘and so it happened . . . that.’

43. τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ.—‘while on the one side they struck others, on the other they were themselves struck.’

46. τοῖς κυβερνήταις κ.τ.λ.—‘the pilots found themselves forced to guard against one party and make plans against another, and not singly, but at many points on every side,’ i.e. having to deal with several enemies at the same time.

§ 7 l. 53. κατὰ τε τὴν τέχνην—‘as their work required it and in the excitement of the moment.’

56. ἐπιβοῶντες—anacoluthon after πολλή . . . ἐγίγνετο, as in c. 42, 2. Badham and Herwerden bracket it on the ground that Thuc. would have written ἐπιβοῶμενοι. But it is quite possible to consider the κελυσται as a separate body from the ἐπιβάται and other combatants, who are indicated by τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

περὶ τῆς—‘in defence of,’ περὶ standing in the sense of ὑπέρ, as often in Demosth.

57. εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις—‘if ever again.’

58. ἀντιλαβέσθαι—absolute, as in II. 8, 1.

61. ἐπαυξῆσαι—means to add to the importance of a person or thing.

§ 3 l. 62. μὴ κατ’ ἀνάγκην—‘unnecessarily.’ Cf. οὐ δι’ ὀλίγου below. How is the difference of neg. accounted for?

69. φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν—*traductio*, for the sake of heightening the contrast.

§ 1 l. 1. ὃ τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς—the following vivid description of the behaviour of the troops on shore exhibits a curious approximation to the *romantic* spirit, but it wants the pathos and the freedom of romanticism; and, fine as it is, the choice and the presentment of the details serve to show how entirely foreign to Thucydides’ genius the romantic spirit was. This ‘living picture’ is finely imitated by Gibbon in his account of the siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II. in 1453.

3. πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα . . . εἶχε—cf. III. 49, 1 ἦλθον ἐς ἀγῶνα τῆς δόξης.

4. ξύστασιν—synonym of ἀγών.

φιλονικῶν—‘les Siciliens désiraient obtenir une gloire plus grande, et les Athéniens redoutaient un sort plus triste encore que leur condition présente.’ Girard.

§ 2 l. 7. ἀνακειμένων . . . ἐς τὰς ναῦς—‘as everything depended on the fleet.’ Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 802 ὃς εἰς σ’ ἀνελθὼν εἰ διαφθαρήσεται κ.τ.λ.

9. οὐδενὶ ἐοικώς—cf. on c. 29 l. 39.

διὰ τὸ <ἀνώμαλον>—‘as the fortune of the battle varied, so they received of necessity varying impressions.’ (Valla supposed that there is a reference in this passage to ‘the unevenness of the ground’; but this is not likely either from what follows or from the condition of the coast. Being close to the water, they could not get a view of the whole.)

§ 3 l. 11. δι’ ὀλίγου—local; cf. c. 36, 5.

14. ἀνεθάρσθησαν ἂν—this is the only example in Thuc. of the iterative ἂν with indic. aor. or imperf. (On this construction see Mr. Seaton in *Classical Review* III. p. 343 fol.)

16. ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσωμένον=τοὺς ἡσσωμένους. Cf. Eur. *Sup.* 706

ἦν δ' ἀγὼν ἰσόρροπος . . . οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικῶν τοῦτ' ἐκήδευσεν, μόνον | ἀλλ' ὥχετ' ἐς τὸ κάμνον οἰκείου στρατοῦ.

17. ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὀψews — ἀπὸ belongs to τῆς ὀψews, the order being the same in c. 20, 1; 24, 2; 31, 5; 32, 1. But, when the art. is inserted with both nouns, this order is very rare in Attic prose outside Thuc. It occurs often in Herod.

19. τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ = τῶν μαχομένων.

21. τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχὲς — 'the continued uncertainty.' ἀκρίτως γενομένης τῆς ἀμίλλης. Schol. Notice the freedom with which nouns can be qualified by adverbs.

22. ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ — 'according to their feelings.'

23. ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα — cf. c. 19, 4.

παρ' ὀλίγον — cf. c. 2, 4 l. 31, and the idiom παρὰ μικρόν, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν with infin.

§ 4 l. 26. πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι — cf. Eur. *Sup.* 710 ἔρρηξε δ' αὐδὴν, ὥσθ' ὑπηχῆσαι χθόνα· | ὦ παῖδες, εἰ μὴ σχήσετε στερρόν δόρυ | σπαρτῶν τόδ' ἀνδρῶν, οἴχεται τὰ Παλλάδος: and *Heraclid.* 838 ἦν δὲ δύο κελεύματα, | ὦ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὦ τὸν Ἀργείων γύνῃ | σπείροντες, οὐκ ἀρήξετ' αἰσχύνην πόλει; and *ib.* l. 832 πόσον τιν' αὐχεῖς πάταγον ἀσπίδων βρέμειν | πόσον τινὰ στεναγμὸν οἰμωγῇν θ' ὁμοῦ;

27. ὀλοφυρμός — apposition to πάντα. The accus. might have been used as object of ἀκοῦσαι.

νικῶντες, κρατούμενοι — as though ἦσαν ἀκοῦσαι had preceded. The cries would be νικῶμεν, κρατούμεθα.

28. ἀλλὰ — instead of τὰλλα. So *alia* is common in Livy in place of *cetera*. The asyndeton heightens the effect.

ὅσ' ἂν . . . ἀναγκάζοιτο — ὅσ' ἂν for ὅσα of MSS. is necessary because the clause does not apply to the A. only, but contains a reference to the cries that any army would utter εἰ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ εἴη.

§ 5 l. 31. αὐτοῖς — *i.e.* τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

32. πρὶν γε δῆ — cf. on c. 39 l. 8.

35. λαμπρῶς — 'decisively,' with κατεδίωκον. Cf. c. 55, 1; and II. 7, 1 λελυμένων λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν: VIII. 66, 3; 75, 2.

§ 6 l. 37. μετέωροι — used similarly in II. 91, 3 referring to the middle of the Corinthian Gulf.

38. κατενεχθέντες — like καταφερομένας in c. 53, 1. Contrast προσφέρεισθαι c. 70, 5. The corresponding sentence in Diodorus makes this clearer: τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι μὴ μετέωροι διεφθάρησαν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὰ βράχῃ προσηνέχθησαν, ἐκπηδῶντες ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀπολομένων εἰς τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον ἔφευγον.

39. οὐκέτι διαφόρως — *i.e.* no longer with the variety of feeling mentioned above.

40. ὁρμῆς — of passionate impulse, as in III. 36, 2.



οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ στόνῳ—with παρεβοήθουν. Dative of manner. See Rutherford, *Syntax* p. 66.

41. δυσανασχετοῦντες—Pollux III. 130 says that this word was first used by Thuc. ; it is fairly frequent in late authors.

τὰ γινόμενα—Kriiger compares φθονεῖν τί τινι.

43. τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τείχους=τὸ διατείχισμα.

45. περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς . . . διεσκόπουν—cf. Lycurgus 107 περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες.

§ 7 l. 47. ξυμφορῶν — preferable to ξυμπασῶν, which is colourless and adds nothing to οὐδεμιᾶς. 'The consternation was the greatest of their misfortunes.'

49. καὶ—after παραπλήσια as in c. 70, 1.

51. προσαπώλλυντο—the imperf. of ἄλλνμι is often used as here of that which is in danger of happening. Cf. γίγνομαι, δίδωμι. It here corresponds with ἀνέλπιστον ἦν σωθήσεται.

ἐν—the perf. partic. of a verb of motion implies rest in, and so ἐν can be used.

§ 2 l. 8. νεκρῶν μὲν περὶ ἡ ν.—proleptic of αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν. 72 This neglect is very significant because (1) it was considered a most solemn duty to bury the dead ; (2) Nicias was esp. punctilious in this matter ; (3) the same neglect after Arginusae led to the execution of some of the στρατηγοί.

§ 3 l. 12. γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο=ἐγίγνωσκε 'proposed.'

15. ἔτι—'yet again.'

νῆες χρήσιμαί— is regarded as one word. Hence the order.

§ 4 l. 23. ἂν ἔτι—with κρατῆσαι.

§ 1 l. 2. ὑπονοήσας—ὑπονοεῖν, like ὑποπτεύειν, sometimes = 73 'to view with suspicion,' sometimes 'to conjecture.'

7. ἀποχωρῆσαι . . . περιδεῖν — the infin. with περιορᾶν occurs only in Herod. and Thuc.

8. λέγων ταῦτα ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἑδόκει—probably this means 'saying what he personally thought they ought to do.' This interpretation is strongly supported by οἱ δὲ ξυνεγίγνωσκον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ and ἑδόκει ποιητέα εἶναι below, with which καὶ αὐτῷ brings our clause into connexion. (The recent edd. who retain these words offer several suggestions ; but all except Classen give alternatives and say that the meaning cannot be determined. Classen says 'saying that which seemed to him from his own conjecture probable,' thus agreeing with Haacke, Göller, and Arnold. But Bloomfield rightly says that the Syr. knew that the A. would retreat even before the battle—c. 67. Stahl and Herwerden reject the words. I think that the edd. have all mistaken the meaning of ἑδόκει, which refers not to the knowledge of Hermocrates, but to his advice. Valla translates '*Commemorans haec et alia quae ipsi videbantur*,' which, whatever he read, is certainly not what Thuc. meant.)

11. ἀποικοδομήσαι—sc. *χρεών*.

12. τὰ στενόπορα—those among the hills west of Syr.

προφθάσαντας — Classen, Böhm, and Widmann prefer διαλαβόντας of B, and it is perhaps right. That διαλαμβάνω does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. does not count, as this part of the narrative contains several rare words and ἀγωνισμός, ἀντιτέχνησις, δυσανασχετῶ, and ἐπιφήμισμα, which are not found again in Thuc. προλαμβάνοντες is explained by the schol. φθάνοντες, ὥστε μὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι at iv. 33. Possibly Thuc. wrote προδιαλαβόντας.

§ 2 l. 13. ξυνεγίγνωσκον—the prep. here has an adverbial force.

16. ἀσμένους . . . ἀναπεπαυμένους—so Sallust *Jug.* 53, 5 *lacti quierant*, Postgate's certain correction of *lactique erant*.

17. ἀναπεπαυμένους . . . ἐρτῆς οὔσης—cf. c. 51, 1.

18. Ἡρακλεῖ . . . θυσία—the Syr. set great store by the fact that the battle fell on a day sacred to Heracles, whose temple was on the hill close to the point at which the A. double wall touched it. Plut. *Nic.* 25 says that their μάντις had reported that Heracles required that they should not begin the action. (For the speculations of Timaeus in after times see Plut. *Nic.* 1.)

19. οὐ δοκεῖν—the verb of 'saying' has to be supplied from ξυνεγίγνωσκον by an idiom common in Gk. *Oratio Obliqua*. ἄν with ἐθελεῖν.

21. πρὸς πόσιν τετράφθαι—the metaphorical meaning of τρέπεσθαι πρὸς is much commoner than the literal.

23. σφῶν—the gen. with πείθεμαι is frequent in Herod. but is not found anywhere else in Attic prose. πείθεσθαι is here synonymous with ὑπακοῦσαι of l. 20; and the gen. is also helped by πάντα.

24. ἐξελθεῖν—depends on πείθεσθαι, which takes sometimes infin., sometimes ὥστε with infin.

§ 3 l. 26. ἐπὶ τούτοις—'in consequence.'

27. καθ' ἡσυχίαν—see on c. 38, 3.

29. πέμπει — asyndeton after a demonstrative is fairly common.

33. ἐξ ὅσου = ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξ ὅσου, the antecedent being omitted as in Plat. *Phaedo* p. 78 B ὅθεν ἀπελίπομεν ἐπανελθωμεν, and often with relative adverbs.

37. διάγγελοι—one would have thought that it was high time for even Nicias to be somewhat sceptical. Moreover he had played a similar trick on the Syr. early in 414. It is strange too that any man who had appeared in the δικαστήρια should not have understood the art of lying. But their sufferings prob. unnerved the A. for the time.

τῶν ἔνδοθεν—neut.

§ 1 l. 1. πρὸς τὸ ἄγγελμα—how near this use of πρὸς is to διὰ with accus. may be seen from c. 60, 2 πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν ἀπορίαν . . . ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐκλιπεῖν as compared with c. 29, 1 διὰ τὴν παρούσαν ἀπορίαν . . . οὐ βουλόμενοι δαπανᾶν.

2. οὐκ ἀπάτην—together, as in τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν οὐ διάλυσιν of I. 137.

3. καὶ ὥς—i.e. even after waiting that night.

4. τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν—insequentem diem.

5. ὥς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν—‘as best they could.’

7. ἀναλαβόντες—as though διανοήθησαν had preceded.

αὐτὰ ὅσα—‘only so much as.’

§ 2 l. 11. εἰκὸς ἦν . . . ἵεναι—‘it was natural for the A. to go,’ ἵεναι being present, as is usually the case with the paradigm of εἶμι except in *Oratio Obligua*.

13. ὑποδοχὴν—of a hostile reception, as *accipio* in Cic. *ad At.* I. 18 *hunc ego accepi in senatu ut soleo* ‘I gave him a warm reception.’

17. ὥσπερ διανοήθησαν—see c. 60, 2.

19. ὥς ἐκάστην—see on c. 65, 2.

ποὶ ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν—‘had been driven ashore anywhere.’

20. ἐκόμιζον—the A. dead, whom Nicias had left as they fell, were afterwards buried by the Syr. on Plemmyrium, where their graves and bones have been recently found. (See Freeman *Hist. Sic.* III. p. 365.)

§ 1 l. 2. παρεσκενᾶσθαι—impersonal.

καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις—elsewhere this καὶ always follows ὥς ut, not ἐπειδὴ *postquam*.

§ 2 l. 5. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν κ.τ.λ.—probably this passage, which all edd. admit to be exceedingly obscure, means lit.: ‘not only in respect of one point in their condition was it terrible that they were departing after losing all their ships and, in contrast with their high hopes, having to face danger, both to themselves and their city, but also at the same time, as they left the camp, every man encountered things that were painful both to look upon and to think of.’ (The meaning of καθ’ ἓν τῶν πραγμάτων is not certain, and the words might safely be ‘skipped.’ Classen thinks that they may be, and Stahl is certain that they are corrupt. Sitzler reads ἐκείνο for καθ’ ἓν. Only Böhme-Widmann are entirely satisfied, taking καθ’ ἓν τῶν πραγμάτων as subject of δεινὸν ἦν—which I agree with Stahl is impossible—and understanding, with Haase, *in unum contracta rerum gestarum summa*.)

καθ’ ἓν—means generally (1) in detail, singly; but sometimes (2) in one respect, for one reason, as in II. 89, 7. Thuc. is contrasting ἓν with πολλά, and means ‘the fact that they

were leaving with loss and danger was terrible not on one account only, but for many reasons,' and the many reasons are expanded into the clause *ἀλλὰ καί*, etc., which again is developed in §§ 3, 4, through which the general idea *δεινὸν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἓν* runs—but the subject clause, *ὅτι . . . κινδυνεύοντες*, is lost sight of. *καθ' ἓν γίγνεσθαι* = *in unum cogi*.

6. *τῶν πραγμάτων*—expresses the sphere of circumstances in which there were many points of horror, and the circumstances are those of the *ἀποχώρησις*.

*ὅτι τὰς τε κ.τ.λ.*—Haase and Rauchenstein alone take this as subject of *δεινὸν ἦν*, but the notes will show that they are prob. right.

10. *ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει*—this being a *quasi-temporal* word, Thuc. might perhaps have omitted *ἐν*, as he does with *πόλεμος*, *ἑσβολή*. § 3 l. 13. *νεκρῶν*—see on c. 74 l. 20.

14. *μετὰ φόβου*—partly because they had neglected a duty so sacred as burial, partly because the dead if unburied were likely to haunt the living, partly because they had not gone through the rites of self-purification.

15. *οἱ . . . καταλειπόμενοι*—‘those who were being left behind alive.’ Cf. *οἱ λειπόμενοι* = ‘the survivors.’

17. *τοῖς ζῶσι*—observe that we require here an antithesis to *τοῖς καταλειπόμενοις*—hence the various alterations proposed. But Thuc. may have been guilty of a false antithesis here, as his admirer Lucretius very often is. There is a similar error in Cic. *de legibus* II. 44 *quod constat et ex vexandis vivorum animis et ea fama mortuorum*, ut eorum exitium et iudicio *vivorum* et gaudio comprobetur—unless for the second *vivorum* we should read *bonorum*, as proposed by P. Thomas.

*τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀθλιώτεροι*—the antithesis between the peace of honourable death and the misery of disgraced life became a stock theme of the schools.

§ 4 l. 19. *καθίστασαν*—sc. *αὐτούς*.

23. *ὅσον*—*quantum*. This seems more expressive than the *Vatican* *ἐς ὅσον*, *quousque*, which is generally adopted.

*τω*—the dat. with *προλείπειν* is unusual.

24. *ῥάμη*—‘spirit.’ It suggests high nervous tension—with which Athenians were rarely troubled—as in II. 43, 6.

*οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων*—Valla wrongly renders *non sine multis obtestationibus*, and all the edd. have mistaken the meaning. The wounded and weak did not stop until they were so utterly exhausted both in body and mind that they could utter only a few appeals and groans. So far from there being no sense in *ὀλίγων*, there is a terrible amount of sense in it, both as a description of the scene and as an indication of the temperament of Thuc. as a man and as an artist.



25. ἐπιθασμῶν—Cobet has shown that this is the true orthography, not ἐπιθειασμῶν. Hesych. ἐπιθεάζει· θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται.

ἀπολειπόμενοι—‘being parted from them,’ ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ στρατοπέδου, l. 10. Cf. on l. 27. The preference which most edd. show for the Vat. ὑπολειπόμενοι is inexplicable.

ὥστε κ.τ.λ.—this gives the consequence of all the ἀλγεινὰ of l. 12, and thus carries us back to δεινὸν ἦν.

26. δάκρυσι—the dat. with πῖμπλημι, instead of gen., is poetical.

ἀπορίᾳ—causal dat.

27. ἐκ πολέμιας—sc. ἀφορμωμένους. ἀφορμᾶσθαι shows that this sentence recalls ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ σ. It is interesting to notice that the whole passage from § 2 to § 4, though it contains statements of fact, happens to be arranged in the form of a rhetorical *enthymeme*, and is therefore very characteristic of Thuc.

28. ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα—Herod. III. 14 μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν. ‘In gravissimo maerore ne lacrimis quidem locus.’ Haacke.

29. τῶν ἐν ἀφανεῖ—in such passages we have the best indication of the historian’s own religious views as purely negative. In this matter he was in accord with Protagoras, and, as in other matters, with Euripides, at least until the poet’s recantation in his old age. Cf. on c. 86, 5.

§ 5 l. 30. κατήφειά—‘exprime un sentiment de honte qui fait baisser les yeux.’ Didot. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 956 τί δὴ κατηφέϊς ὄμμα, καὶ δακρυρροεῖς; Having completed the description of the ἀλγεινὰ in the form of an *enthymeme*, Thuc. now goes back to the grammatical subject of δεινὸν οὖν ἦν § 2, viz., ὅτι τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπολωλεκότες πάσας ἀπεχώρουν καὶ ἀντὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος . . . κινδυνεύοντες. These two aspects of the ἀποχώρησις—viz., the loss and the change which the loss involved to all—are dealt with in §§ 5, 6, 7, so as to exhibit their effect on the appearance of the army and on the minds of the men, and they are considered together from two points of view, the κατήφεια which they involved and besides (καὶ μὲν, § 6) the ἰσομοιρία which they involved. Thus the whole chap. from § 2 forms a chiasmus, as regards the matter, and it is a perfect example of composition. Macaulay said of ‘the Retreat’ that there was no prose composition in the world that he placed so high.

33. ὑποφευγούσῃ—the comparison has lost its force for us; but the phenomenon referred to was not a rare one in those times.

39. ὑπὸ τοῖς ὅπλοις—ἐπὶ ‘in addition to,’ in place of ὑπό,

has been generally accepted, but Widmann rightly says that the change is unnecessary. It is not easy to say how else hoplites could have carried food but in the left hand, and so of necessity beneath the shield.

40. ἀκολουθῶν—i.e. θεραπεπόντων.

42. παραχρήμα—sc. ἀπηυτομόλουν.

§ 6 l. 44. καὶ μὴν—introducing a new point in the description. Thuc. uses καὶ μὴν only in speeches and the more highly wrought parts of the narrative.

ἥ <τ' > ἄλλῃ αἰκία κ.τ.λ.—lit. 'the degradation generally and especially the universality of the suffering, though it had some alleviation in the fact that it was shared by many, was nevertheless at that moment thought intolerable.' ἡ ἰσομοιρία is the special part of the αἰκία singled out for comment: in this case the universality of the suffering is designated αἰκία because hoplites and knights were suffering the same hardship as the meanest slave. (Jungbahn has rightly explained this passage; but the addition of τ' is necessary in order to get the sense required.)

46. τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν—Cic. *ad At.* xi. 6, 1 *meus dolor non modo non minuitur, cum socium sibi adjungit dolorem tuum, sed etiam augetur.* 'General evils,' Machiavelli says, 'are endured more easily than private ones.'

47. ἀπὸ οἷας—an exclamation, the double οἷος being used as so often in tragedy to express a marked contrast. Trans. 'especially considering that they' etc.

49. ἀφίκατο—the plur. suits αὔχημα much better than the sing. ἀφίκτο, even if it could be used impersonally.

§ 7 l. 50. τὸ διάφορον—'reverse.'

51. οἷς=ὅτι αὐτοῖς.

ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ . . . ἦκειν—Herod. has this idiom twice without the article.

52. δουλωσομένους—for the change from dat. to accus. cf. c. 40, 4; 57, 9.

τοῦτο—object of πάθωσι.

56. ναυβατῶν—found in Herod., Thuc., and tragedy only.

ὀπλιτικῶ προσέχοντας μᾶλλον ἢ ναυτικῶ—'trusting, not to a fleet, but to hoplites.' This was a bad omen for the queen of the sea.

76

1. 3. ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑ.—'as well as he could,' with ἐθάρσυνε.

4. βοῇ τε χ. κ.τ.λ.—'raising his voice louder and louder still as he went from one line to another.' So the note in Jowett, taking ἐτι μᾶλλον with ἐκάστοις, which is much better than understanding a reference back to the previous speech c. 69, 2, as there is not much point in saying that he spoke even louder than he had spoken two days before.

5. γέγονιτο—why optative? *repetition in past time.*

7. γεγωνίσκων—a poetical word for γέγωνα.

§ 1 l. 1. "Ἐτι καὶ ἐκ κ.τ.λ.—‘even as things are, you must 77 hope on (men have been saved from terrors even greater than these), and you must not reproach yourselves either for your disasters or for your present undeserved sufferings.’ The speech is based upon the same topics that have been handled in c. 75, §§ 5, 6, 7, viz., the κατήφεια, κατάμεμψις, and ἰσομοιρία.

5. ξυμφοραῖς—of the battles that had been lost.

§ 2 l. 7. ἀγὼ τοι κ.τ.λ.—‘You know that I too, who am as weak as the weakest of you (yes, you see how I am suffering), whose success both in private and in public life is, I think, considered equal to any man’s, am now in the same danger and suspense as the humblest of you. Yet have I rendered with exactness my duty to the gods, and just and inoffensive dealing to men.’ In this rendering the antithesis, to our taste excessive, is modified. Notice the close correspondence of οὔτε ῥώμη, etc. and οὐτ’ εὐτυχία, etc.

8. προφέρων—see on c. 64, 2.

10. εὐτυχία—Intr. p. xxxvii. A great deal is to be learned about this word and its relation to εὐδαιμονία in the tragedians, esp. in Euripides. Cf. Arist. *Eth.* i. 9 *πολλὰ μεταβολὰ γίνονται καὶ παντοῖαι τύχαι κατὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ ἐνδέχεται τὸν μάλιστα εὐθηνοῦντα μεγάλας συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν ἐπὶ γήρῳ.* Nicias here propounds his doctrine that the gods repay the good and the bad with good and ill fortune in this life. His belief was the same as that of Herodotus.

§ 3 l. 17. ἀνθ’ ὧν κ.τ.λ.—‘therefore I am yet strong in hope for the future, and our misfortunes lose some of their terror. Perhaps they may even cease. For the enemy have had enough success, and if any of the gods was offended at our enterprise, we have now received sufficient punishment.’

18. οὐ κατ’ ἀξίαν δὲ φοβοῦσι—i.e. (φοβοῦσιν) ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατ’ ἀξίαν Antiphon *tetr.* Γ. δ 6, lit.: ‘not in accordance with their assumed importance.’ (There are several ways of taking these words. Classen says ‘terrify you more than they ought to do.’)

19. λωφῆσαιαν—of the cessation of pain or trouble, as in II. 49, 5. Plat. *Phaedrus* 251 c λωφῆ τῆς ὁδύνης.

ικανὰ γὰρ—contrast with this Eur. *Supr.* 226 κοινὰς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς τύχας ἡγούμενος | τοῖς τοῦ νοσοῦντος πῆμασιν διώλεσε | τὸν οὐ νοσοῦντα κοῦδὲν ἡδίκηκότα.

§ 4 l. 22. ἡλθον γὰρ που κ.τ.λ.—‘others besides us have attacked their neighbours before now, and after doing what men will do have endured what men can bear. So now it is reasonable for us to hope that the gods will relent towards us

(for we deserve their pity now rather than their envy), and do you, seeing what fine troops you are and how great the numbers that march in your ranks, be not excessively alarmed,' etc.

23. ἀνθρώπεια κ.τ.λ.—cf. Eur. *Heraclid.* 424 ἀλλ' ἦν δίκαια δρῶ δίκαια πείσομαι. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 72 *humana vitia* = ἀνθρώπινα κακά.

24. τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου—the whole of this passage is very characteristic of Nicias. Cf. Herod. III. 40 ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν.

25. ἡπιώτερα—in the old sense, expressing a father's pity for his children, and hence transferred to the gods. Cf. the meanings of ἐπισκοπεῖν.

26. καὶ ὁρῶντες—the transition from τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου is purposely made abrupt, so as to exhibit the close connexion between the gods and men.

28. καταπέπληχθε—strictly this should have been καταπεπλήχθαι after τά τε ἐλπίζειν.

31. δέξαιτο—'resist.'

§ 5 l. 32. τὴν δὲ πορείαν κ.τ.λ.—'do you yourselves look to your safety and discipline on the road; let every man think that the ground on which he is forced to fight will be his country and fortress if he wins it.'

§ 6 l. 36. σπουδῇ δὲ—'we shall hurry.'

42. εἰρημένον—accus. abs.

§ 7 l. 45. ἀναγκαῖόν τε ὄν—arguments drawn from τὸ ἀναγκαῖον are common in Greek rhetoric.

49. οἳ τε ἄλλοι—still depends on γινώτε.

52. ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις—a similar γνώμη occurs in many authors. Soph. *O. T.* 56 ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναὺς | ἐρήμος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω.

78 § 1 l. 1. ἅμα—with παρακελευόμενος.

4. οὐδὲν ἦσσαν—sc. ἐπήγει.

§ 2 l. 6. τὸ δὲ—sc. στράτευμα. Apparently each of the two divisions formed its own square.

§ 3 l. 10. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο—the object of the A. before the last battle had been to reach Catana. Holm and Lupus think that they had given up all hope of reaching it. The alternative to Catana was some friendly town, west or south. Freeman and Grote think that, as long as they were trying to reach the Acraean rock (see c. 80), they still hoped to get to Catana, though of course by an indirect route. The Acraean rock is due west of Syr.

11. τῇ διαβάσει—i.e. where the regular route crossed the river.

15. ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν—up the ascent that leads to Floridia. They were now following the modern road.



§ 4 l. 22. **κατέβησαν**—although the *ἄπεδον*, level ground about Florida, is higher than the road, yet Freeman thinks that this word is consistent with the state of the ground immediately south of Florida. Holm however thinks that either Thuc. has made a slip or the text is wrong.

§ 5 l. 32. **Ἀκραῖον λέπας**—a height near Florida, with broken rocks covered with straggling verdure. The position was very favourable to the Syr.

§ 6 l. 34. **αὐτοὺς**—for the order cf. III. 61, 1 ὡς μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς κακία ὠφελῇ.

40. **ὁμοίως**—‘as before.’

41. **ἀποχωρεῖν**—*i.e.* from the main body, for the purpose of foraging.

§ 1 l. 1. **ἐβιάσαντο πρὸς**—‘forced their way to.’

6. **οὐκ ἐπ’ ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων**—‘in a deep line’; cf. II. 90 ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς. The gen. is commoner than the accus., which is also used in these military phrases; Xen. *Hel.* VI. 4, 12 ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι; Aristoph. *Frag.* ἴστασθ’ ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἀσπίδας.

§ 2 l. 9. **διικνοῦντο**—βάλλοντες.

§ 3 l. 13. **πρὸς μετόπωρον**—Aristoph. *Eccles.* 20 πρὸς ὄρθρον ἐστίν.

16. **ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ὁ**—cf. ἐπὶ κακῷ γίγνεσθαι.

§ 4 l. 20. **ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν**—*i.e.* ‘between their halting-place and their camp of the night before.’ Freeman.

§ 5 l. 23. **πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον μᾶλλον**—rather south of the halting-place of the two previous nights.

25. **προυχώρου**—in what direction was this advance? ‘the generals now gave up the thought of forcing their way to that particular [Acraean] cliff by that particular pass [above Florida]. Their object seems now to have been to find some other road, some other pass, in the same neighbourhood, which might lead them to the high ground [to the west], and which the Syr. might not have occupied.’ Freeman. (The progress of the fifth day should not be marked in the plans by a line running straight to the south, but should bend away to the west with the bend in the brook that forms the southern branch of the Cyane.)

26. **πανταχῇ . . . κύκλῳ**—to be taken close together.

§ 6 l. 35. **ἀνεπαύοντο**—a little south of the camp of the previous night.

§ 1 l. 3. **τῶν τε ἐ . . . ἀπορία . . . καὶ . . . ἦσαν**—these are the two reasons given for κακῶς εἶχε, the principal clause replacing a subordinate.

8. **τοῦναντίον**—*i.e.* no longer westwards, with no further attempt to reach the high ground.

§ 2 l. 10. ἡ ξύμπασα ὁδός—Holm says that this refers to the whole of the march ever since they left Lysimeleia. Freeman however refers it to what immediately precedes about πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. He thinks that it was the road leading eventually to Catana that the Syr. had specially blocked. But neither view is satisfactory. It is clear that ἡ ξύμπασα ὁδός αὕτη (1) is contrasted with τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἣ διανοήθησαν, (2) implies nothing of necessity as to their previous purpose, being a geographical note about ἡ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁδός. Thuc. does not say that the A. no longer hoped to reach Catana, but that this road did not lead ultimately in that direction. The intention of the A. was throughout the same—ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ ἂν τάχιστα μέλλωσί τινος χωρίου . . . φιλίου ἀντιλήψεσθαι c. 60, 2, whether circumstances offered Catana or any other place. (It is futile to discuss whether they intended ultimately to reach Catana or not. Probably the question was never discussed by them.)

§ 3 l. 17. φόβοι καὶ δέσματα ἐγ.—epexegetis of οἶον. Note δέσμα ‘panic,’ δέος ‘apprehension,’ φόβος ‘fear.’

18. [ἀπό]—a dittography of the syllable that follows. If this were genuine, we should have ἀπιούσιν. Moreover ‘si quis ἀπό τινος ἔρχεται, quodam modo cum eo conjunctus fuisse et nunc ab eo segregari cogitatur.’ Sobolewski.

19. ἰοῦσιν—with αὐτοῖς.

§ 5 l. 24. ἀφικνούνται—sc. τὸ Νικίου στράτευμα. ὁμως means notwithstanding the trouble caused by the disorder of Demosthenes’ division.

πρὸς τὴν θ.—‘near to the coast.’

25. τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ἑλωρινὴν—the ancient road from Syr. to its dependency Helorus, which had been seized from the Sicels in order to prevent them from reaching the S.E. corner of Sicily. N. reached the road at some point north of the Caecyparis.

27. ὅπως—presumably this arrangement had been made with Demosthenes.

28. Κακυπάρει—the Cassibile.

29. ἄνω—‘inland.’ They still hoped to reach the hill country of the Sicels.

ἡλπιζον—Holm says that this sentence refers to c. 77, 6 προπέμπεται ὡς αὐτοὺς etc., and that this proves that the A. had not intended to get to Catana, since they had ordered the Sicels to meet them on the Caecyparis. But if they had pursued their original route over the Acraean rock, they might have come out somewhere near the source of the Caecyparis, but quite fourteen miles from where they now crossed the river. If they meant to follow the river up to some point which they

had been trying to reach from the first, still nothing is proved with regard to their ultimate intentions. Freeman thinks that Nicias had sent fresh messages to the Sicels when he changed his route. But it is quite likely that he assumed that the Sicels would march down the stream when they failed to find him higher up.

§ 6 l. 36. Ἐρινεόν—it is not certain what stream is meant ; but it is generally thought to be the Cavallata.

37. ἐκέλευον—sc. χωρεῖν—this was done in the hope that they might find some way into the interior that was unoccupied by the enemy.

§ 1 l. 2. ἡ ἡμέρα—i.e. the day referred to above.

3. ἐν αἰτία . . . εἶχον = ἡτιῶντο.

§ 2 l. 9. ὑστέροις οὔσι—it is not known whether Demosth. crossed the Caecyparis or not.

10. τότε—referring to c. 80, 4.

13. δίχα δὴ ὄντας—sc. ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ Νικίου.

§ 3 l. 15. θασσόν τε—this is answered by ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης below, τε . . . δέ replacing μέν . . . δέ, as often in tragedy. Cf. III. 52 τοὺς τε ἀδίκους κολάσειν, παρὰ δίκην δ' οὐδένα. As for τε γάρ meaning *namque*, there is no certainty that it occurs in good Attic. Several passages cited by Shilleto on Demosth. *F. L.* 176 are corrupt, and the rest are prob. instances of anacoluthon. Generally where τε is not answered by καὶ there is a parenthesis, which interrupts the construction, as in Plat. *Gorg.* p. 524 B where τό τε σῶμα is eventually answered by ταύτων δὴ μοι δοκεῖ . . . καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν.

16. ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ—this phrase is used of circumstances of any kind.

17. ἐκόντας εἶναι—εἶναι is infin. of limitation, and in this phrase is almost confined to neg. sentences.

19. ὅσ' ἂν ἀναγκάζωνται—as C has ὅσα ἀναγκάζωνται, Dobree's correction, by which the sense is much improved, should be accepted.

§ 4 l. 20. τὰ πλείω—*plerumque*.

25. ἐνδιατρίβων—viz. ἐν τῷ ξυντάσσεσθαι. Note the word, which is useful.

28. ἀνελθόντες—synonym of συστραφέντες.

ἔς τι χωρίον—Plutarch says this was the estate that had belonged to Polyzelus, probably the brother of Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, the tyrants.

29. ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν—'on both sides.' (Leake, Grote, and Freeman wrongly translate as though it were ἀντικρυσ.)

30. περισταδόν—found, except here, only in Herod. and poets.

§ 5 l. 31. ξυσταδὸν μάχαις—adverb qualifying verbal noun, as cc. 34, 6, l. 34 ; 71, 3.

35. φειδῶ τις ἐγίγνετο—with *τω*=*πᾶς τις ἐφείδετο*.

36. ἐπ'—*ut in*. The *μὴ* is inserted because hindrance is implied.

82 § 1 l. 8. τῶν νησιωτῶν—who might be expected to be willing to desert. Cf. c. 57, 4.

εἴ τις βούλεται=τὸν βουλόμενον. No infin. is then added.

ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ—expressing the terms, as in ἐπὶ τοῖς, etc.

10. οὐ πολλάί—we cannot be sure that it was loyalty to Athens that prevented more from going over, though Grote seems to assume it.

§ 2 l. 11. ὁ γίγνεται ὥστε—the active in III. 28, 1 ποιοῦνται ὁμολογίαν ὥστε. This use of ὥστε is very common.

§ 3 l. 17. ἐς ἀσπίδας ὑπτίας—Aristoph. *Lysist.* 185 θὲς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπτίαν τὴν ἀσπίδα.

18. τούτους—Philistus of Syracuse, a contemporary historian, related that Demosth. attempted to commit suicide, but was prevented by the enemy. The fact is reported by Plutarch and Pausanias.

22. καθίσε τὴν σ.—observe that Thuc. uses the earlier form of the augment whenever there are two ways of augmenting a verb: e.g. χρῆν, not ἐχρῆν; καθίζον, not ἐκάθιζον; ἐνηντιούμην, not ἤναντιούμην; see Rutherford *New Phryn.* p. 81; and for the Attic uses of καθίζω *ib.* p. 336.

83 § 1 l. 5. σπένδεται—the middle expresses reciprocity.

πέμψαι—σπένδομαι can also take fut. infin.

§ 3 l. 16. ἔβαλλον—Plutarch adds πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες.

17. καὶ τούτους—as they had done before to Demosth.

§ 4 l. 19. φυλάξαντες—cf. II. 3 φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα=‘waiting for the time when it was still night.’

τὸ ἡσυχάζον—cf. c. 68, 1 l. 7.

20. ἀναλαμβάνουσί τε . . . καὶ—parataxis, as often with τε . . . καὶ, καὶ . . . καὶ, μὲν . . . δέ.

§ 5 l. 25. ἐχώρουν—they were afterwards caught; c. 85, 2.

84 § 1 l. 1. ἦγε—still along the Helorine road, hoping to find an unguarded way to the right.

§ 2 l. 6. Ἀσσίναρον—the name only occurs in the accounts of the retreat. It is identified as the Falconara.

7. ἅμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι—‘because, being harassed by the cavalry and the light-armed, they thought that they would be somewhat better off if they crossed the river, and also owing to their suffering and thirst.’ One cause of ἠπείγοντο is οἰόμενοι, the other is ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. The rest, βιαζόμενοι . . . ὄχλον, is subordinate to οἰόμενοι. So Bauer, Krüger, Classen, Fr. Müller. Poppo made βιαζόμενοι depend on ἠπείγοντο, and οἰόμενοι as well; but in all other cases in which two participles



stand thus in the same relation to the verb, Thuc. either joins them by *καί* or places the verb between them. Stahl places *οιόμενοι* . . . *ποταμόν* after *ταλαιπωρίας*, and this greatly improves the sense, since it is hard to see the bearing of *βιαζόμενοι* on *οιόμενοι*. Why should the attacks diminish after they had crossed the river? Perhaps the A. thought they would then turn off to the right and shake off the enemy to some extent. (In any case the sentence is not a good one.)

§ 3 l. 19. *περί τε* . . . *διεφθείροντο*—cf. *πίπτειν*, *πταίνειν* and *σφάλλεσθαι* *περί* with dat. ; but the construction is poetical and Ionic.

20. *σκεύεσιν*—‘accoutrements.’

21. *ἐμπαλασσύμενοι* = *ἐμπλεκόμενοι*. The word occurs nowhere else in Attic.

§ 4 l. 21. *ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα*—regarded as one word.

23. *ἦν*—the subject to be supplied from the context.

25. *κοίλῳ*—with a deep bed ; a meaning that occurs several times in Plutarch, *e.g.* *Lucul.* c. 24.

§ 5 l. 26. *ἐπικαταβάντες*—both banks of the Assinarus are steep, and the water, as usual in Sicily, does not fill the whole of its bed, which is wide. The Pel. went down the bank into the bed and cut down the A., while the Syr. stood on the opposite bank to prevent the A. from getting across.

28. *εὐθὺς διεφθάρτο*—the plup. is occasionally thus used with *εὐθὺς* to express a result hastily arrived at, esp. in combination with the imperf., *e.g.* Demosth. 19, 154 *τότ' εὐθὺς ἐγνώκειν καὶ προεωρώμην*.

29. *ὁμοῦ τῷ πηλῷ*—with *ἐπίνετο*.

§ 1 l. 4. *τοῦ μὲν* . . . *τοῦ δὲ*—apposition to *διεφθαρμένον*.

7. *πιστεύσας μᾶλλον*—‘N. had always been, as far as his duty allowed him, a friend of Sparta.’ Freeman.

8. *χρήσασθαι* . . . *ὅ τι βούλονται*—regular formula for an unconditional surrender.

11. *φονέοντας*—an Ionic word, found often in tragedy and Herod., and four times in Thuc. See Rutherford, *New Phrygn.* p. 15.

§ 2 l. 13. *ἀπεκρύψαντο*—sc. *οἱ Συρακόσιοι*, ‘hid for their own purposes,’ to keep or to sell.

16. *τοὺς διωξομένους*—the fut. partic. with art.—not a very common construction—refers to no definite person.

§ 3 l. 17. *τὸ* . . . *ἀθροισθὲν*—for the neut. cf. c. 43, 7.

*ἐς τὸ κοινὸν*—just as *τὸ κοινὸν* is used of the state treasury, since the prisoners became state property.

20. *ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως*—cf. c. 82, 2 *ὁμολογία γίγνεται*. In the case of Demosth. there were definite terms and his men surrendered to the state.

§ 41. 23. ἐν τῷ . . . πολέμῳ τούτῳ—there have been from early times two ways of understanding this passage: (1) the scholiast thinks that Thuc. is comparing the disaster at the Assinarus with those of the Pel. war generally: accordingly he thinks Σικελικῶ is wrong. So Krüger, Stahl; (2) Valla understands him to be comparing this disaster with other battles of the Sicilian war. The scholiast is probably right, since there is no other instance of great carnage, φόνος or σφαγή, in the Sicilian war with which the last disaster could be aptly compared; and as Thuc. was writing the history of the Sicilian expedition, not as a separate work, but as part of his general history, it is strange that he should speak of the Sicilian campaigns only in giving an idea of the extent of the loss. (Arnold says ‘it is as if an historian of the French campaign in Russia were to say of their loss at the Beresina, “that it was greater than on any other occasion throughout this Russian campaign.”’ But, after the losses of 1812, that statement would convey an idea of awful slaughter, whereas this does not.)

27. παραντίκα—these were some cavalry, who under command of Callistratus made their escape to Catana. Pausanias VII. 16, 4.

29. ἐς Κατάνην—among these were Tydeus, afterwards one of the generals at Aegospotami, and the son of Polystratus for whom Lysias wrote the speech ὑπὲρ Πολυστράτου. They continued to fight for Catana against Syr. Lys. 20, 24.

86

§ 1 l. 3. τὰ σκῦλα—Plut. *Nic.* 27 says that the finest trees on the banks of the Assinarus were decked with A. panoplies.

§ 2 l. 5. κατεβίβασαν—by a decree passed in the assembly at Syr. after a debate of which Diodorus and Plutarch give details. The quarries are among the most striking features of Syracusan topography, most of them running in a long row along the S.E. side of Achradina. They are now disused and exceedingly picturesque. The date of the sentence is about the middle of September.

8. ἄκοντος Γυλῖππου—Hermocrates also, as Diod. and Plut. relate, spoke against the motion which was proposed by a leader of the democrats.

9. ἀπέσφαξαν—we know from Plutarch that Philistus agreed with Thuc. that Demosth. and N. were put to death, and this confirmation by the contemporary Sicilian historian is too strong to be set aside by the story of Timaeus that they were allowed to commit suicide. (The manner of their death is unknown; in Plut. *Nic.* c. 28 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Ν. ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος οὐ φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων καταλευσθέντας (or κελευσθέντας), ὥς Φίλιστος ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, I believe that we should read καταδεθέντας unless καταλευσθέντας could

mean 'cast into the stone quarries,' as Hesych. explains the word.)

11. τοῖς ἄλλοις—sc. ἀγωνίσμασι.

§ 3 l. 14. νήσω—Sphacteria, in 425 B.C.

18. ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι—depends on προθυμήθη: cf. c. 62, 4; 77, 5.

§ 5 l. 31. διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.—describe the *ethical* excellence of N.; for ἐπιτήδευσιν shows that Thuc. is not thinking of the military sense of ἀρετή. On the whole he uses ἀρετή as Plato does, *i.e.* as embracing the four cardinal virtues, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις, and, though later writers had an idea that N. was a coward, there is nothing to show that he was more than a *moral* coward. Thuc. himself admits moral cowardice on the part of N. when he attributes superstition to him. The construction is disputed, but it is natural to suppose that both πᾶσαν and νενομισμένην belong to ἐπιτήδευσιν, not to ἀρετήν. Trans. 'because he had directed his course of life wholly in accordance with virtuous principles,' *i.e.* in accordance with elementary ethical principles, not in accordance with any school of philosophy. νομίζω=I put into practice; ἐπιτηδεύσις = a theory of life, on which concrete ἐπιτηδεύματα are based. Thuc. attributes οὐ δημοτικὴ παρανομία to Alcibiades. We recall too the sneer of Plato in *Phaedo* 82 A οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν τε καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἑθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγονυῖαν ἀνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ.

§ 1 l. 3. μετεχέρισαν—Thuc., like Herod., uses the act. of 87 this word, whereas other authors use the middle.

5. οἱ ἥλιοι—the plur. is *intensive*, as in θέρμαι, καύματα.

8. ἐς ἀσθένειαν ἐνωτέριζον—like βάλλειν or τρέπειν εἰς, of some enforced change of state; 'through the change of temperature induced disease.'

§ 2 l. 10. τῶν νεκρῶν . . . οἱ . . . ἀπέθνησκον—it appears that νεκροὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι is possible Greek, as in Plut. *Pyrrhus* c. 21 τραυμάτων πολλῶν γενομένων καὶ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, and perhaps Thuc. II. 52 νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο.

15. ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ μῆνας—sc. daily. This allowance is what was called in c. 82 ἡ ἀναγκαιοτάτη διαίτα, and is half that which was given to a slave. Diodorus, following the Sicilian account, says that each man received two χοίνικες of meal, *i.e.* four times as much as two κοτύλαι.

16. ἄλλα ὅσα—for ὅσα ἄλλα, found also in II. 96, 3.

ἐν τῷ τ. . . ἐμπεπτωκότας—ἐν is occasionally used with verbs of motion.

18. ἐπεγένετο—*accidit*.

§ 3 l. 20. πλὴν Ἀ. κ.τ.λ.—comparing l. 15 we see that these were kept in the quarries some six months longer.

§ 5 l. 25. ἔργον—used in its vague, euphemistic sense, as in τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἔργον.

26. [Ἑλληνικὸν]—to be omitted, since there is no contrast between the doings of Greeks and of other men.

28. δοκεῖν—infinitive of limitation ; c. 49, 3.

ὦν ἀκοῇ—cf. Herod. vii. 170 φόβος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, of the destruction of the Tarentines and Rhegines by the Iapyges.

§ 6 l. 30. κατὰ πάντα . . . πάντως—paronomasia, to emphasise the statement.

32. πανωλεθρία—cf. πανώλεθρος ἀπόλλυσθαι in tragedy.

34. ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν—a common collocation.

35. ἀπενόστησαν—the well-known story in Plut. Nic. c. 29 that some gained liberty or shelter by reciting Euripides is by no means improbable ; for, apart from the great popularity of Euripides, the Athenian slaves, weakened by suffering and unused to manual labour, must have been a burden to their owners. With the Athenian retreat we might compare the retreat of Antony from Parthia in 36 B.C. Cf. Browning *Balaustion's Adventure*, and Byron *Childe Harold* iv. 16

When Athens' armies fell at Syracuse,  
And fetter'd thousands bore the yoke of war,  
Redemption rose up in the Attic Muse,  
Her voice their only ransom from afar :  
See ! as they chant the tragic hymn, the car  
Of the o'er-master'd victor stops, the reins  
Fall from his hands, his idle scimitar  
Starts from its belt—he rends his captive's chains,  
And bids him thank the bard for freedom and his strains.



## APPENDIX I

### ON THE FIRST HARANGUE OF NICIAS

cc. 61-64

THIS speech has gained much admiration from both ancient and modern critics. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a severe and often unjust censor of Thucydides, rightly praises the vividness of the language and its lucidity. Blass thinks that the greatest of the military harangues written by Thucydides are this and the reply, as we may call it, that Gylippus makes to it; and Jebb says that it is 'in a high degree powerful and pathetic.' Wherein lies the secret of its pathos? It lies in this, that the Athenian army is here taken to be the very city itself. From the opening words of the Exordium to the last sentence of the Peroration this idea runs through the whole speech. Like their ancestors when they fought at Salamis, the men that are themselves the state are about to stake their all on the recovery of their city and on her very existence.

But great as are the merits of the speech, they should not have blinded the critics to the serious blemishes that mar it. These blemishes are (*a*) a tendency to excessive subtlety, (*b*) an unfortunate refinement on the central idea, (*c*) excessive compression of thought, (*d*) awkward expressions. It is true that these are faults that are admitted to deface many of the speeches. But Thuc. can shake himself free from them when he tries. The last speech of Nicias is entirely free from such defects: and Thuc. should have considered that the occasion on which this first harangue was delivered was too solemn for rhetorical trivialities and tricks of compression.

(*a*) *Excessive subtlety*.—Mure points out that this is a very common fault in Thuc.; but the last speech of Nicias is a splendid example of its avoidance. It should have been equally avoided here.

1. C. 61, 1 opens with a subtle comparison between the objects for which the two sides are contending. 'Both sides are contending *περί τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος*.' This is casuistic, because it is plain that the Syracusans were not contending for these objects in the same sense that the Athenians were. Whatever might be the issue, Syracuse was now safe; since, even in case of victory, Nicias intended to retreat. The Syracusans had previously been contending for the retention of their city: the Athenians were now to contend for the recovery of theirs.

2. C. 63, 3 *καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἔλασσον κατὰ τὸ ὠφελῆσθαι ἔς τε τὸ φοβερόν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι πολὺ πλεῖον μετείχετε*. This statement, made about the sailors, is true; but it is true *only in a sense*. While the meaning of the words is plain, the thought that underlies them is far-fetched.

3. C. 64 closes with a subtle argument that is intended to encourage the listeners to put forth all their power. The argument is put in the form of an enthymeme, which is so elaborated that the final appeal is to some extent spoiled by the rhetorical form in which it is made.

(b) *There is an unfortunate refinement on the central idea.*—Instead of concentrating the attention of his hearers on their common ties and on the essential unity of the Athenian empire, the speaker draws a careful distinction between the Athenians and non-Athenians. This distinction is made at the beginning of the speech in *τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν που οἰκείαν πόλιν*. It is afterwards drawn out in c. 63, 3 in a passage that illustrates a remark of Mure that one of the defects in the genius of Thucydides is 'a deficiency in the faculty of Taste,' and reminds us rather too forcibly of the errors to which even the greatest are prone when there is as yet no standard of taste in existence. Thuc. has told us that he made his speakers say what it seemed to him most opportune for them to say in view of each situation—that is to say, as Jebb explains, 'what the occasion required.' On the other hand, Dionysius declares that the speakers occasionally utter sentiments which, however just and striking in themselves, are nevertheless *inappropriate to the occasion*. In another passage, the great critic praises this speech for its freedom from this fault. But is it really appropriate on so solemn an occasion to remind the *ξένοι* and *μέτοικοι* that they were not true Athenians, and that they had been in the habit of filling with alarm the *ὑπήκοοι* of Athens? Even if there were no possibility of giving offence to the *ξένοι* and *μέτοικοι* themselves, what would the *ὑπήκοοι* who stood in the audience think of the statement?

In c. 64, 1 the reminder αὐτοὶ ἵστε οἷα γνώμη ἐπήλθετε is not altogether well-timed; and the same remark applies to the whole of the warning contained in the passage.

This occasional lack of propriety is an error in what the Greek rhetoricians call *εὐρεσις*, the Romans *inventio*—that is to say, in the choice of material: and it is right to point out that in this branch of rhetoric Thucydides as a rule excels among Greek orators.

(c) *Excessive compression of thought*.—The general drift of the speech is perfectly clear. But the unfortunate distinction that has been drawn between Athenians and non-Athenians necessitates that in the appeal to the feelings which the Peroration rightly contains, the speaker should insist on the essential unity of his hearers and on the one object for which they fight. And so a reference to Athens as the centre of every man's hope must be brought in.

In order to set this object clearly before them and to give point to his appeal Nicias bids them reflect that they now are Athens. But so briefly is the thought expressed that the last sentence of the speech forms a curious commentary on the earlier words Ἀθηναῖοι νομιζόμενοι, καὶ μὴ ὄντες. There is really no contradiction, but there is undue brevity. What the speaker should have said is surely to this effect: 'Finally, my comrades, whether you be Athenians or not, remember that you are all that are left to Athens; nay, Athenians or no, you are Athens; you represent her majesty; and in fighting for her, you will be doing the best for yourselves.' Thus, while bringing the central idea into due prominence at the close, he would not have left his previous distinction in the lurch.

This difficulty is partly caused by the abruptness of the transition from the Proof to the Peroration. Thuc. does not make it clear that the Epilogue is addressed to everybody, and not exclusively to the Athenians.

(d) *Awkward expressions*—viz. 1. the antithesis between ἐλευθέρως and δικαίως in c. 63, 4. 2. ἐλευθέρως itself and the adjacent words are inappropriate, because they are limited to the ναῦται, and would be likely to cause offence to the ὑπήκοοι. 3. The paronomasia καταπροδίδετε, καταφρονήσαντες in the context is objectionable. 4. περὶ ὧν in the Peroration is ambiguous, since ὧν may be either neut. or fem. 5. οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ νῆες εἰσὶ is bad.

## APPENDIX II

### REMARKS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES

SINCE the notes were printed, the second part of Herbst's *Erklärungen und Wiederherstellungen* has appeared. The following is a list of the passages in this book in which Herbst has arrived at new results that appear to me to be correct, or, at least, valuable.

C. 14, 1. Classen and Stahl, following some older edd., render βραχεῖα ἀκμή πληρώματος 'the efficient part of a ship's crew is small.' I have said that βραχεῖα is probably *temporal* here. By carefully examining the context, Herbst has made it clear that this is the case.

C. 27, 4 ὅτε μὲν καὶ πλείονων ἐπιόντων, ὅτε δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς ἴσης φρουρᾶς καταθεούσης τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ληστείας ποιουμένης. The interpretation of this passage which is given by Stahl is manifestly erroneous, and was scarcely worth a detailed refutation. Herbst agrees with the explanation that I have given in the notes, except that he understands ἐξ ἀνάγκης to mean 'according to fixed arrangement,' the cities of Peloponnese being bound to send a fixed contingent periodically. But (1) this sense is ill-suited to καταθεούσης and ποιουμένης, which allude to operations directed *from Decelea*, and not to the contingents arriving successively *from Peloponnese*; (2) if ἐξ ἀνάγκης meant this, it would apply equally to πλείονων ἐπιόντων: for κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, etc., when so used apply to the permanent obligation to service that is incurred under a defensive and offensive alliance; and the Peloponnesian allies would be as much bound by their alliance with Sparta to send πλείονας if required, and in fact to send any number of men up to two-thirds of their fighting strength.

C. 28, 2. Herbst defends οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις ποιοῦμενοι, sc. τὴν φυλακὴν from the preceding φυλάσσοντες. This is probably right, though some of the parallels that he cites are doubtful.



C. 28, 3. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέειπεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἅμα εἶχον, καὶ ἐς φιλονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἣν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἠπίστησεν ἄν τις ἀκούσας, τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. Herbst retains τὸ γὰρ (for which I have substituted τό γ' ἄν) and he translates 'namely that they should.' This goes back to the explanation of γὰρ given by Shilleto at i. 25. Herbst maintains that τὸ here, as well as in c. 36, 5, c. 67, 1 (where I have followed Krüger) and in a large number of other passages that are usually explained otherwise, is itself absolute and does not influence the construction of the sentence and was freely used to point, as it were with the finger, to what is coming afterwards. If so, both τὸ and γὰρ fulfil the same purpose; for both then introduce and emphasise the epexegetis that follows. The 'absolute use' of τὸ is to be found in Arnold's notes, but it has very generally been abandoned as being unscientific; for it is really unexplained—even with the help of all the examples that Herbst has collected—either on the historical or on the logical principle. The objection to γὰρ is of course that it is used with an explanatory infin. here instead of introducing a new sentence.

The proposal to take τὸ γὰρ . . . ποιῆσαι as an *exclamation*, to which reference is made in the notes, was first made by Mr. Wratislaw in the *Journal of Philology*.

καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι . . . ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον, ἐνόμζον περιοίσειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὥστε ἔτει κ.τ.λ. Herbst makes ὥστε correlative to τοσοῦτον, and renders ὅσον 'as,' taking ὅσον . . . ἐς τὴν χώραν as a parenthesis. But it seems that a sharp contrast between the one or two or three years and the sixteenth year is needed to explain the παράλογος, and that the difference between them gives the measure of τοσοῦτον.

He thinks that οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον is elliptic for οἱ δὲ τρία ἔτη, τριῶν δέ γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον. This is no better than Bubendey's proposal (in the *Hamb. Festschrift* written in Herbst's honour) to omit the second οἱ δέ, for there is a limit to the amount of sense that even Thucydides can pack into his words.

C. 56, 4. Herbst retains τοῦ ξύμπαντος λόγου (MSS.; Kr. ὄχλου), and thinks it equivalent to τοῦ ξύμπαντος συλλόγου.

## APPENDIX III

### ATHENS FROM JULY 414 TO SEPT. 413

DURING the first six of the fourteen months covered by this book, life at Athens proceeded in the ordinary way. A few men whom good democrats regarded as half-crazy, like Meton and Socrates, foresaw that trouble was impending, and many moderate democrats like Aristophanes were little satisfied with the current of Athenian thought and manners. But politics were now swayed by the democratic party, to which the political agitation that followed the mutilation of the *Hermæ* had been a great gain. Among the strategi who entered on office in July 414 were Demosthenes, the hero of the Aetolian expedition, Conon, who commanded the squadron that lay off Naupactus, and Charicles, who had been one of the commissioners appointed to investigate the Hermocopid affair. These were all democrats. So doubtless was the upstart Diitrephes, who in the next summer was in charge of the barbarous attack made on Mycalessus (c. 29). He had been successively phylarch and hipparch. Other strategi, besides Nicias, were Euetion, who in conjunction with Perdiccas, made an attempt to recover Amphipolis, and Eurymedon, who was sent to Sicily in December.

The drama as yet showed no signs of decline. Sophocles, though now over eighty, still retained his powers. Euripides, fifteen years the junior of Sophocles, was busily writing for the stage. Other writers of tragedy now flourishing were Agathon, Iophon the son of Sophocles, Philocles nephew of Aeschylus, and Xenocles, son of Carcinus, who had gained an unmerited victory over Euripides six months before. The license of the Old Comedy had recently been checked to some extent by a vote of the *Ecclesia*; yet Aristophanes and Phrynichus and Pherecrates and many others moved fairly easily in their

fetters. The *Birds* had been produced in Dec. 415, and the *Amphiaræus* of Aristophanes in Feb. 414.

Athenian prose literature had not yet attained its full development. Thucydides was busily collecting materials during his wanderings. Xenophon was about seventeen years old; and two other historians living in Athens, Herodicus and Cratippus, had probably written nothing at this date. On the other hand, Plato's uncle Critias, who tried almost every branch of literature with considerable success, had already appeared as an author of prose, and was perhaps responsible for the little tract on the *Athenian Constitution* which is wrongly ascribed to Xenophon.<sup>1</sup>

Athenian sculpture, since the death of Phidias in 432, had passed into the hands of his pupils. The most famous sculptor now living—Polyclitus—was an Argive. Of the pupils of Phidias, the most distinguished were Agoracritus and Alcamenes. Agoracritus was a native of Paros, but he seems to have lived at Athens. He made the renowned Rhamnusian Nemesis to which a mutilated head in the British Museum is believed to have belonged. Of the works of Alcamenes nothing is known to exist. At this date the adornment of the Acropolis was still incomplete. The temple of Wingless Victory had been finished a few years before; but the Erechtheum was not finished in 409 B.C. Nevertheless the eastern half of it, which formed the temple of Athena Polias, was now approaching completion.

It may be convenient to add that in 414 B.C. Socrates was fifty-four years of age; Isocrates was twenty-two; Plato was fifteen; Isæus was a child. Antiphon was already writing for the courts.

The archon eponymus from July 414 to July 413 was the cowardly Pisander, at present an ardent democrat. He had been on the board of investigation with Charicles in 415. Prominent demagogues of the day were Androcles and Cleonymus, both of them active workers against the Hermocopids, and both constantly attacked by the comic poets. Androcles was murdered in 411 B.C., and his place as head of the extreme democrats was then taken by Cleophon, who was already becoming known in political life.

Early in 413 the Spartans invaded Attica and occupied Decelea. Thus the Peace of 421 was formally brought to an end. The grounds for the invasion were that Athens had aided Argos against Sparta in the summer of 414 with a fleet; they had also made an attack on Epidaurus in Laconia and on other coast towns. The evil consequences of the occupation of

<sup>1</sup> A good note on this question will be found in Mr. Dakyns' excellent translation.

Decelea were immediately felt in Athens. They may be readily gathered from the marginal analysis of cc. 27, 28. Yet, even while the place was being fortified, Charicles went out with a fleet to harry the coasts of the Peloponnese, and Demosthenes started for Sicily with his powerful armament. This mission of Charicles accords with the regular practice of the Athenians, instituted by Pericles at the beginning of the war. It was impossible for the Athenians, even at the height of their power, to put an army in the field capable of withstanding the Lacedaemonian invaders, and a system of making descents on the coasts of Peloponnese was the only effective counter-plan that they could adopt.

But what a strange position for Athens to be in! The docks that had held four hundred ships of war stood almost empty: the fleet on which she relied, the *ναυτικὸς ὄχλος* that had enjoyed more influence than any other body of the citizens, even her right over the soil of Attica seemed to have melted away from her; she had become a mere fortress crowded with soldiers past their prime or too young for service, and she had not means ready to hand for their support. Yet she managed to bear up under these difficulties, even when aggravated by the destruction of the armament in Sicily.

The strategi who entered on office in July 413 included in all probability (in addition to Nicias, Demosthenes, and Eurymedon) Aristocrates, Diomedon, Hippocles, Leon, and Strombichides. Of these Aristocrates became a leader of the moderate party among the Four Hundred and an associate of Theramenes. Diomedon, Leon, and Strombichides were all notable democrats shortly after this time; and two of them, Leon<sup>1</sup> and Strombichides, were unjustly put to death under the Thirty. Early in 412 Hippocles succeeded in intercepting the Peloponnesian squadron that was returning from Syracuse after the war. One ship was captured and the rest escaped with considerable damage. Another new strategus was Diphilus, who was at once sent to succeed Conon at Naupactus.

Though the oligarchs had been debased of late, yet had their clubs or associations for political and judicial purposes not ceased to exist. In the following year these clubs, encouraged by the Sicilian disaster, the Deceleian War, the intervention of Tissaphernes on behalf of Sparta, the revolt of the allies, and the intrigues of Alcibiades, will exhibit extraordinary energy and boldness. Alcibiades and Andocides,

<sup>1</sup> We may assume that it is to Leon the strategus of this year that Andocides i. 94 alludes. His death was caused by Meletus, one of the accusers of Andocides and perhaps identical with Meletus accuser of Socrates.

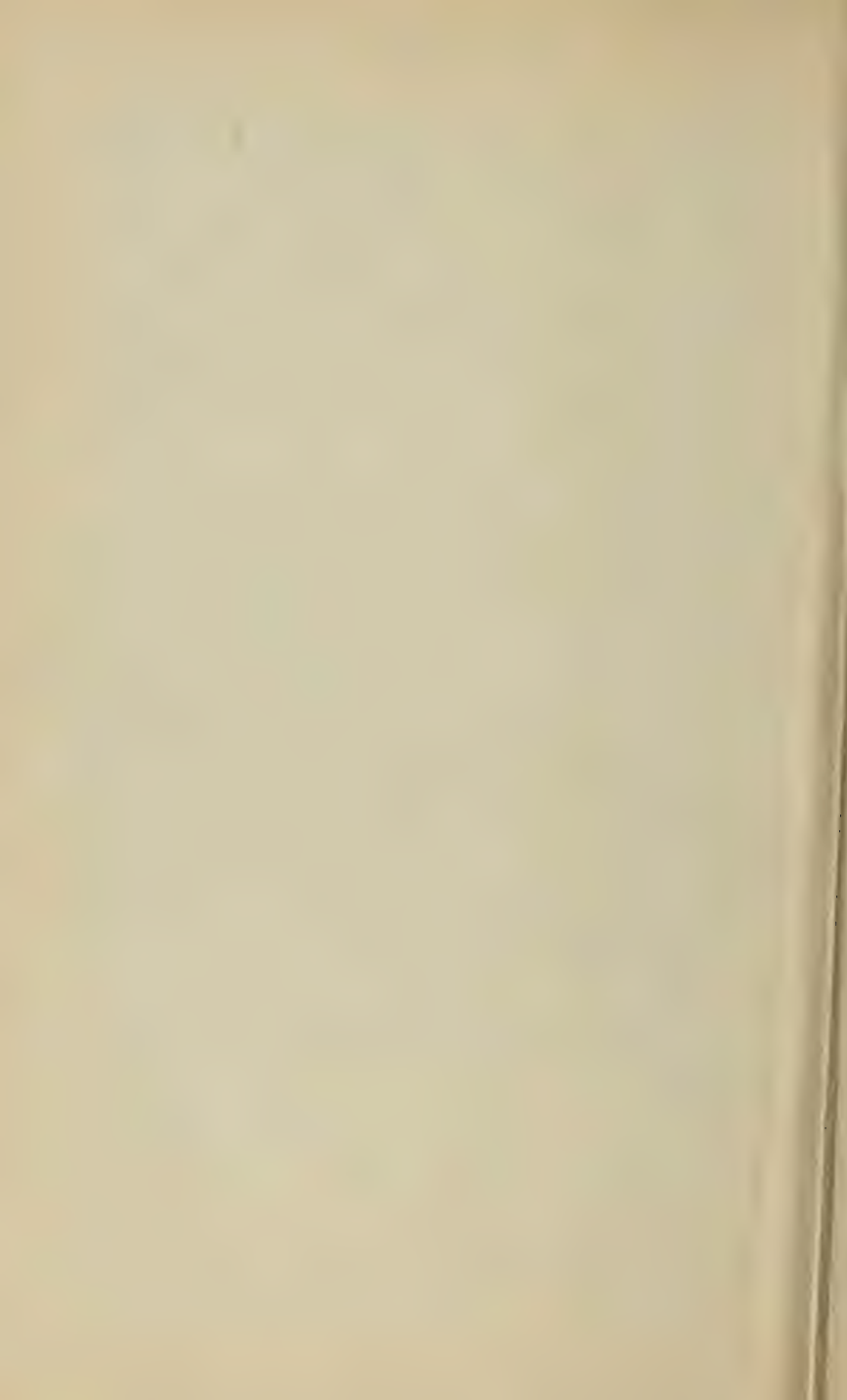


both of whom were now oligarchs, were in exile. Reference has already been made to Critias and Aristocrates. But two other oligarchs, who afterwards became members of the Thirty, had already gained notoriety. These were Theogenes and Aeschines,<sup>1</sup> who, it should appear, were men of ability, but, being poor, disgusted people by imitating the follies and extravagance of richer men. Prominent among rich men was the notorious Callias, son of Hipponicus, who was fast ridding himself of the enormous fortune that he had inherited ten years before from his father. A dilettante so idle and careless as Callias can scarcely be said to have belonged to any political party. He was, however, *proxenus* of Sparta, and the office of torch-bearer at the Eleusinian Mysteries was hereditary in his family.<sup>2</sup>

Nicias and Demosthenes lost their lives in Sicily two months after they had entered on office for 413: while Eury-medon had already fallen before the final catastrophe. According to a story in Athenaeus (third century A.D.), when the news of the disaster reached Athens, the people were watching a performance of a parody by Hegemon of Thasos, the author who first brought this kind of entertainment on to the Attic stage. The piece was a humorous representation of the scene that Phidias had embossed upon the inside of the shield that rested at the side of his renowned gold and ivory Athena which stood in the Parthenon—the scene of the battle between the giants and the gods. The story is worth recording mainly because it shows that a new kind of spectacle was exhibited just about this time. But probably the dates have been doctored to some extent; for it is unlikely that stage plays were ever exhibited in the autumn during the fifth century, the story is too neat to be accepted on the sole authority of Athenaeus, and it is suspicious that Plutarch does not record a circumstance that might by him have been turned to such good account.

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from the philosopher and the orator.

<sup>2</sup> For other details respecting this interesting man, see Smith's *Dict. of Biography*.



## GREEK INDEX

\* \* The numbers in all cases refer to chapter and section. The number of the section is followed by *n* where the reference is both to the text and to the notes.

### A

Ἀγάθαρχος, Syr. admiral, 70, 1  
 ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες γίγνεσθαι 77, 7  
 ἀγγέλλω: ἀγγέλλων . . . ἔπεμπε  
 8, 1 *n*; ἀγγέλλοντας . . .  
 ἔπεμψαν 25, 9; ἡγγέλλον  
 βελτίω τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ 17, 3 *n*  
 ἄγγελμα 74, 1  
 Ἄγισ, Spartan king, 19, 1;  
 27, 4  
 ἀγορὰ παρεσκευάσθη 40, 1  
 ἀγχώματα ναυμαχεῖν 71, 4  
 ἄγω: ἄξων παρασκευήν, στρα-  
 τιάν, ὥχετο 12, 1; 46  
 ἀγών: ἀγῶνας ποιεῖσθαι 49, 2;  
 ἄξιος ὁ ἄ. 56, 3; ὑπὲρ καλῶν  
 ὁ ἄ. 66, 1; κοινὸς ὁ ἄ. 61, 1;  
 ἐν ἄ. καθεστάναι 64, 2 *n*;  
 πολὺν τὸν ἄ. ἔχειν 71, 1  
 ἀγώνισμα καλὸν 56, 2 *n*; 59,  
 2; 86, 2  
 ἀγωνισμὸς κυβερνητῶν 70, 3  
 ἀδυνασία τοῦ λέγειν 8, 2 *n*  
 ἀδύνατος 'powerless' 14, 2 *al.*;  
 'incapable' 15, 1 *n*; ἀδύ-  
 νατοι τοῖς χρήμασι 28, 4;  
 ἀδύνατον ὄν 44, 4  
 ἀήσητος 44, 3  
 ἀθροίζω 'concentrate' 33, 6;

ἄθροοι χωρεῖν 84, 3, διαιτᾶ-  
 σθαι 87, 2  
 ἄθυμῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ  
 εἰμι 76; ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας  
 εἶναι 55, 1  
 αἰγιαλὸς 37, 3; 74, 2. The  
 ordinary prose word, but  
 not to be used if θάλασσα  
 will do as well  
 αἰδῖος ἐμπειρία 21, 3 *n*  
 αἰκία 75, 6 *n*  
 αἵματῳ: ἡματωμένον ὕδωρ 84, 5  
 αἶρω: ἄρας 'starting' by sea or  
 land, 26, 1; 69, 4; 79, 1;  
 ἡρμένος 'raised' 41, 2  
 αἰσθάνομαι (1) with partic. 2,  
 2; 69, 1; 81, 1; (2) with  
 ὅτι 65, 1 *n*; (3) with accus.  
 8, 1 *al.*  
 αἰσχροῦς: ἐπ' αἰσχροῦ τε αἰτία  
 καὶ ἀδίκως 48, 4; ἡ αἰσχίστη  
 ἐπὶ κλησὶς = ἡ δουλεία 'politi-  
 cal dependence' 68, 2  
 αἰτεῖν: αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν νεκρῶν  
 72, 2  
 αἰτία: ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχειν with infin.  
 81, 1  
 αἰωροῦμαι 77, 2  
 ἄκαιρος: οὐκ ἄ. πέμψιν νεῶν  
 ποιεῖσθαι 17, 3

ἀκινδύνως ἀπελθεῖν 68, 3 *n*  
 ἀκμάζω: τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀκμάζει  
 with dat. of manner 12, 3  
 ἀκμή πληρώματος βραχεῖα 14,  
 1 *n*  
 ἀκοῆς ἀποστέρησις 70, 6; ἀκοῇ  
 εἶδέναι 87, 5  
 ἀκόλουθος = θεράπων 75, 5 *n*  
 ἀκολουθῶ = ξυστρατεύω 57, 4, 9  
 Ἀκραγαντῖνοι, neutrality of,  
 33, 2; 50, 1; 58, 1  
 Ἀκραῖον λέπας 78, 5; 79  
 ἀκρίβεια τοῦ ναυτικοῦ 13, 2;  
 ἀκριβεία ἐξειπεῖν 'to state  
 accurately' 87, 4  
 ἀκρίτως: τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχῆς τῆς  
 ἀμίλλης 71, 3 *n*  
 ἀκροβολισμός 'firing' 25, 5, 8  
 ἀλγεινὰ αἰσθῆσθαι ξυνέβαινε 75, 2  
 ἀλγιστα: τὰ λγιστα προστιθέναι  
 τινι 68, 2  
 Ἀλέξαρχος, Corinthian officer,  
 19, 4  
 ἀλήθεια 'true position': περὶ  
 τῆς ἀ. βουλευέσθαι 8, 2  
 ἀληθής: τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλῶσαι 14,  
 4; τὸ ἀληθέστατον γινῶναι  
 67, 4  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης, advice of, 18, 1  
 Ἀλκισθένης, father of Demo-  
 sthenes, 16  
 ἀλλά, after negatives, where  
 our idiom is generally dif-  
 ferent, οὐχ ὁμοίως . . . ἀλλὰ  
 28, 4; 36, 3; οὔτε . . . οὔτε  
 . . . ἀλλὰ 29, 4; οὐκέτι τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ὁδὸν . . . ἀλλὰ 80, 1;  
 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι ἀλλὰ 84, 3;  
 οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι . . . ἀλλὰ  
 49, 3; οὐδὲ . . . ἔτι ὁμοίως  
 . . . ἀλλ' ἢ 'except' 50, 3  
 ἄλλος: ὁ ἄλλος ὁμιλὸς 58, 3;  
 exclusive use of 4, 3; 7, 3;  
 36, 1; 43, 2; ἄλλος ἄλλη  
 71, 6  
 ἄλωσις: ἐν τῶν τειχῶν τῇ ἀλώσει

24, 2 *n*; μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλημ-  
 μυρίου ἄλωσιν 32, 1 *n*  
 ἁμαθία 36, 5  
 ἁμαρτάνω: ὕπερ καὶ σφίσιν  
 ἡμάρτητο 18, 3 *n*  
 ἁμαχεὶ διαπεπολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς,  
*sedentes bellum conficient*,  
 14, 3  
 ἀμηχανῶ: τὰ μὲν ἀπορεῖν, τὰ  
 δ' ἔτι ἀμηχανήσιν 48, 5  
 ἀμφί 40, 2 *n*  
 Ἀμφίπολις, blockade of, 9  
 ἀμφοτέρος: κατ' ἀμφοτέρα 'by  
 land and sea,' 41, 4; 'in  
 two ways,' 47, 2  
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβεῖσθαι 22, 1 *n*  
 ἄν, with partic., 42, 4; 64, 2;  
 67, 4; with iterative aor.  
 71, 3 *n*; <ἄν> 28, 3 *n*  
 ἀναβολάς: ἐς ἀ. πράσσειν τι 'to  
 delay,' 15, 2  
 ἀναγκαῖος: οὐχ ἱκανὰ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἀναγκαῖα 69, 3 *n*; ἀναγκαιο-  
 τάτη δίατα 82, 2; ἐξ ἀναγ-  
 καίου 60, 4 *n*  
 ἀναγκαστός, of subject ξένοι,  
 who, being under obligation  
 to serve, desert 13, 2; cf.  
 58, 3  
 ἀνάγκη, of obligation incurred  
 by an alliance (1) ἀνάγκη  
 ἀκολουθεῖν 57, 4 *n*; 7 *n*; (2)  
 ἐπικουρικὰ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀνάγ-  
 κης 48, 2 *n*; (3) κατ' ἀνάγ-  
 κην μάχεσθαι μετὰ τινος 57,  
 5; κατ' ἀ. not technical, 70,  
 6, 8. On ἐξ ἀνάγκης 27, 4 *n*  
 see Appendix II.  
 ἀναδοῦμαι: ἀναδησάμενοι ἐκό-  
 μιζον 74, 2; cf. ἀναδούμενοι  
 εἰλκον II. 60, 6  
 ἀναίρεσις νεκρῶν 72, 2; ἀναί-  
 ρεῖσθαι νεκρούς 5, 3; 72, 1  
 ἀνακαλῶ, 'appeal to,' 69, 2;  
 70, 8. It is the word for  
 'to call by title or officially'



- )( ἀποκαλεῖν. ἀνακαλεῖσθαι 73, 3  
 ἀνάκειμαι, 'depend on,' 71, 2.  
 Steph. quotes Verg. *Aen.* 12, 59 *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit*  
 ἀνάκλησις: πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν τρέπεσθαι μὴ with inf. 71, 3  
 ἀνακρούομαι, 'back,' 38, 1 *al.*;  
 ἀνάκρουσις 36, 5 *al.*  
 ἀναλαμβάνω, military term, 'to take' on board or by land, 1, 5; 25, 4 *al.*  
 ἀναμάχομαι, 'retrieve' a loss, 61, 3 *n.*; used also metaphorically by Plato  
 ἀναπειρᾶσθαι, 'to practise,' 7, 4 *n al.*  
 Ἄναπος, river, 42, 6; 78, 3  
 ἀνάρμοστος, 'awkward,' *inhabilis*, 67, 2  
 ἀναρρῶννυμαι, of moral recovery, 46, 1; cf. ῥῶννυμαι, of moral vigour  
 ἀνάστασις 75, 1. ἀνάστασις is an *unwilling*, μετανάστασις a *willing* removal  
 ἀνειλούμαι = συστρέφομαι 81, 4  
 ἀνεκτὰ πάσχω 77, 4  
 ἀνέλκω 1, 3 *al.*; ἀνείλκον confused with ἀνέκλων 25, 6  
 ἀνεπιστήμων 67, 1  
 ἀνεπίτακτος ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἐξουσία, of men who are their own masters, 69, 2  
 ἀνεπίφθοнос: δίκαια καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα διαιτᾶσθαι 77, 2  
 ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων, 'without consulting,' 49, 2; οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθεασμῶν ἀπολείπόμενοι 75, 4 *n*  
 ἀνέχω, 'project,' 34, 2; 'hold back,' 48, 3  
 ἀνὴρ: note ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ἄ. πολυηροί; 'men' = crew or force, 31 *al.*; ἄνδρες = τινες, with gen., 43, 3; 83, 2; general, 66, 3  
 ἀνθορμῶ 19, 5 *al.*  
 ἀνθρώπεια δρᾶν 77, 4  
 ἀνίημι πόλεμον 18, 1; ἄ. τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 51, 1; ἄ. τῆς ἐφόδου 43, 7  
 ἀντανάγω ναῦς 37, 3; ναυσὶ 52, 1; middle, 40, 3  
 ἀνταρκῶ, 'suffice to meet' requirements, 15, 1  
 ἀντεμβιβάζω 13, 2  
 ἀντέπειμι 4, 3  
 ἀντεπέξειμι 37, 3  
 ἀντηρίδες 36, 2  
 ἀντί: ἀντὶ μὲν with τοῦ and inf. answered by ἀντὶ δ' εὐχῆς 75, 7  
 ἀντιβάλλω, following βάλλω, 'reply to a volley,' 25, 6  
 ἀντιβολία: πρὸς ἀντιβολίαν τρέπεσθαι, 'entreat,' 75, 4  
 ἄντικρυς Βοιωτοί 57, 5  
 ἀντιλαβὴν ἔχειν 65, 2 *n*  
 ἀντιλαμβάνομαι, 'gain,' with gen., 77, 6. περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας . . . ἄ. 'work for,' 70, 7; cf. τῆς σωτηρίας ἄ. II. 61  
 ἀντιμυχανῶμαι 53, 4  
 ἀντιμίμησις: τὰ τῆς ἄ. αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν 67, 2  
 ἀντιναυπηγοῦμαι: νῆες ἀντιναυπηγημέναι 36, 3  
 ἀντίπαλος: ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστάναι 13, 2 *n.*; ἀντίπαλα ναυμαχεῖν 34, 6; ἄ. γίγνεται τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας 38, 2  
 ἀντιπαρασκευάζομαι 3, 2  
 ἀντιπαρατάσσω 5, 1  
 ἀντιπέμπω 79, 4  
 ἀντιπληρῶ 22, 2  
 ἀντιπολιορκῶ 28, 3  
 ἀντιστράτηγος 86, 2  
 ἀντιτάσσω 25, 8; ἀντίταξις 17, 4  
 ἀντιτέχνησις 70, 3

ἀντιτολμῶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς  
21, 3

ἄνω: in the direction away  
from the low ground, away  
from the harbour, towards  
the hill, hence 'north,'  
<ἄνω> τοῦ κύκλου 2, 4 n;  
4, 1 n, 2; ἡ ἄνω ἡ πρὸς τῷ  
τείχει ἀπόληψις 54, 1 n; τὰ  
τείχη τὰ ἄνω 60, 2 n

ἀνώμαλον, τό 71, 2

ἀξία: ἡ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κακο-  
πάθεια 77, 1; κατ' ἀξίαν 77,  
3 n

ἀπαλλαγὴ πολέμου 2, 1

ἀπαναλισκόμενα, τά, 'losses,'  
14, 2 n

ἀπαντῶ (ἐς τι χωρίον 'at a  
fixed place') 1, 3 al.

ἀπαράσσω 63, 1

ἀπαντομολῶ 79, 5

ἀπλῶς καταδύναι 34, 5

ἀπό: (1) *temporal*, 'after':  
ἀφ' ἑσπέρας εὐθύς 29, 2; ἀπὸ  
πρώτου ὕπνου 43, 2; (2)  
'from': ἀπὸ ναυμαχίας ἀνα-  
πεπαισμένοι 73, 2; ἀπὸ οἷας  
λαμπρότητος . . . ἐς οἷαν  
τελευτήν . . . ἀφίκατο; (3)  
*local*, of the place *from*  
which anything is carried  
on: ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζο-  
μαχία 62, 2; ἀπὸ τῶν  
ὀλκάδων αἵρεσθαι 41, 2; ἀπὸ  
is used thus in place of ἐπὶ  
when the point of view is  
that of the spectator, as τὴν  
παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατα-  
στρωμάτων βελτίω ἔχειν 63, 3;  
cf. τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν κ. παρασκευὴν  
62, 1; τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώ-  
ματος 'the service on deck,'  
70, 3; 40, 5; 70, 5; used  
thus also by attraction to  
the verb, 63, 1; (4) 'out  
of': ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν 87,

6; (5) *origin* of persons,  
interchanged with ἐκ: 33,  
3; 57, 4; (6) 'in conse-  
quence of': θαρσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς  
ναυμαχίας 37, 1; (7) source  
of anything: τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ 77, 4; ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας  
αὐτόνομοι 57, 3

ἀποβιβάζω, *exponere*, 29, 2

ἀποδείκνυμαι 'display,' 'put  
into action,' like *edere*  
*facinus*, 64, 2; cf. Herod. i.  
59 ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα ἔργα

ἀποδέχομαι, 'approve,' 48, 3

ἀποκνῶ, 'hesitate,' 21, 4

ἀπόκροτος γῆ 27, 5

ἀποκρούεσθαι, 'to be repulsed'  
in assault, 43, 1

ἀποκρύπτομαι, 'conceal with  
intent,' 85, 2

ἀπολαμβάνω, 'intercept,' 51,  
2; ἀπόληψις 54, 1

ἀπολαύω γῆς 27, 4

ἀπολείπω: βραχὺ ἀπολείπειν  
γενέσθαι, 'be little short of,'  
70, 4

ἀπόλειψις: ἐν τῇ ἀ. τοῦ στρα-  
τοπέδου 75, 2

ἀπολύεσθαι φόβου 56, 2

ἀπονεννημένος, 'desperate,' 81,  
5; ἀπόνοια 67, 4

ἀπονοστῶ 87, 6

ἀποξηραίνω = διαψύχω ἀνελκύ-  
σας, 'dry-dock,' 12, 5

ἀπόπειραν λαμβάνειν 21, 2 n

ἀποπειρῶ ναυμαχίας 17, 4; ἀ.  
παρατειχίσματος 'make an  
attempt upon,' 43, 1; abs.  
36, 1 w. dat. of manner

ἀποπέμπω, 'dismiss,' 3, 2;  
'despatch,' 16, 2

ἀποπλήρημι τῆς γνώμης τὸ  
θυμούμενον 68, 1

ἀπορία: ἐς ἀ. καθιστάται 75, 4

ἀπορώτατον πάντων, 'the great-  
est difficulty,' 14, 2

- ἀποσπῶμαι, 'get separated,' 80, 4
- ἀποστερῶ: ἀπεστερηκέναί μὴ with inf., 6, 4 *n*; ἀποστερησὶς ἀκοῆς 70, 6
- ἀποσύρω 43, 5
- ἀποτελῶ: ἀπετετέλεστο 2, 4
- ἀποτολμῶ 67, 1
- ἀποφάργνυμι, 'block,' 74, 2
- ἀποφέρομαι ἐς, 'carried by stress of weather,' 50, 2
- ἀποχρώντως 42, 3
- ἀπρεπέστατα, τά, προστιθέναι τινι 68, 2
- ἀπροσδόκητος, active, 29, 3; passive, 46, 1
- ἄπωσις: ἡ τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄ. αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος 34, 6
- Ἀργεῖοι, why they joined Athens, 57, 9
- ἀργός: ἀργότερος ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι 67, 3
- ἀρέσκει αὐτῷ οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ 49, 3
- ἀρετή 86, 5 *n*, in its later, *i.e.* moral sense, as understood by Euripides; ἀρεταί, concrete, 69, 2
- ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι 39, 2
- Ἀρκάδες, as mercenaries, 19, 4 *n*
- ἄρπαγὴν ποιεῖσθαι 26, 2; 29, 2
- ἄρρωστία 47, 1. οἱ Ἀπτικοὶ τὴν ἄρρωστίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ προθυμεῖσθαι μηδὲ ὁρμᾶν πρᾶξαι τιθέασιν. Phrynichus
- ἀρχαιολογῶ 69, 2; like Cicero's *pervulgata praecepta decantare*
- ἄρχω, prior capesso, 5, 2; 6, 1; ἄρχειν Ναυπάκτου 31, 4; 'command,' 7, 1; 'control,' 14, 2
- Ἀρχωνίδης, Sicel chief, 1, 4 *n*
- ἄρωγός, rare in prose, 62, 1
- ἄσιτος 40, 3
- Ἀσσίνaros, Nicias overtaken at the, 84, 2
- ἀστέγαστον, τό 87, 1
- ἀσφαλεστάτη τήρησις 86, 2
- ἀταξία: πρὸς ἄ. προσμεῖξαι 68, 1
- αὖ: πάλιν αὖ 46, 1; 64, 1; οὐδ' αὖ 47, 4; 56, 3
- αὐθημερόν: αὐθις καὶ αὐθ. 39, 2
- αὐθις: νῦν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις, *nunc cum maxime*, 70, 7
- αὐτόθεν, *illinc* and αὐτόθι, *ibi*, frequent and good
- αὐτομολῶ 13, 2; αὐτομολία 13, 2 *n*
- αὐτόνομοι, of allies of Athens; (1) αὐτόνομοι καὶ ναυτικὸν παρεχόμενοι 57, 4; (2) αὐτόνομοι ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας 57, 3. Some of the latter, though not ἀναγκαστοὶ (see ἀνάγκη), are described as κατὰ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι (ἢ ἐκόντες) 57, 7 *n*. See Κέρκυρα
- αὐτός: αὐτὰ ὅσα, 'just so much as,' 74, 1; αὐτὰ of what has been described, 55, 2 *n*; 66, 1 *n*; ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνάγειν 81, 2; ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμφέρεσθαι 36, 6; ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπαντᾶν 35, 2
- αὐτόσε 26, 2
- αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ 16, 1 *n*
- αὕχημα 66, 3 *n*; 75, 6
- ἀφανής: τὰ ἐν ἀφανεί, of the future, 75, 4
- ἀφανίζω τὰς πατρικὰς ἀρετάς 69, 2
- ἄφθονος ὁμιλος 78, 4; ἄφθονον ὕδωρ 58, 4
- ἀφθόνως χρῆσθαι 70, 5
- ἀφίημι ναῦν 19, 4 *n*; 53, 4; ἄ. βέλος 67, 2
- ἀφίκατο=ἦσαν ἀφιγμένοι 75, 6
- ἀφίσταμαι πολέμου 7, 2; 'revolt,' 58, 3; ἀποστήναι ἐκ Σικελίας 28, 3
- ἀφορμῶμαι, 'start,' 75, 4
- ἀφορῶ πρὸς τι 71, 3

## B

- βαρβαρικόν, τό=οἱ βάρβαροι 29, 4; β. χωρίον )( 'Ελληνικόν 60, 2  
 βάρβαροι πόλεις )( 'Ελληνίδες π. 80, 2  
 βαρύτης νεῶν 62, 2  
 βασιλεύω, with gen., 1, 4  
 βέβαιος ἐλευθερία 68, 3; 'loyal,' 77, 6  
 βιάζομαι, 'drive back,' 23, 3; 'force,' ἐκπλουν, ἔσπλουν 22, 2; 70, 7; abs., 'to force a way,' 67, 4; 79, 1; pass. 11, 2; 45, 2 *al.*  
 βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν 82, 2  
 βλέπω ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσωμένον 71, 3  
 βοήθεια, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, 18, 1; 42, 1  
 Βοιωτάρχει 30, 2  
 Βοιωτοί, first to check the Athenians in the attack on Epipolae, 43, 7  
 βόσκω ναυτικόν 48, 5 *n*  
 βούλησις )( ἀνάγκη 57, 7  
 βούλομαι: οὐ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ τινι 35, 1  
 βοῶ, 'clamour,' 48, 4  
 βραδὺς γίγνεσθαι, with τοῦ and inf., 'be slow in,' 43, 5  
 βραχύς: βραχύ τι 2, 4; 13, 1; 'short,' 14, 1; 27, 4; ἐκ βραχέος καὶ περιγραπτοῦ ὀρμᾶσθαι 49, 2; κατὰ βραχύ, 'by degrees,' 79, 5; βραχέα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν 77, 6  
 βρονταὶ καὶ ὕδωρ, 'a thunderstorm,' 79, 3; so II. 77; VI. 70; Xen. *Hel.* I. 6, 28

## Γ

- γάρ esp. after negs., parts of εἰμί, ἤδη, article, preposition,

or an emphatic word; in epexegetis 67, 4; γὰρ δὲ 62, 4 *al.*

γέ is used (1) *when other particles precede*, as μέντοι . . . γε 14, 4; δέ . . . γε 28, 3; 63, 2; ἀλλ' ἢ . . . γε 50, 3; ὅμως . . . γε 57, 4; (2) *after relative pronouns or adverbs*, as ἐπεὶ . . . γε 30, 2; ἐπειδὴ γε 55, 2; ὅς γε 68, 2; ὥς . . . γε 15, 1; 40, 2; 67, 4; ὅσα γε 11, 4; (3) *to introduce the qualification of a general statement* ('as far as concerns,' 'if we consider'), as αὐτὴν γε καθ' αὐτὴν 28, 3; αὐτός γε 48, 4; ἐν γε τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ 44, 1; οἷ γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ 86, 5; τό γε ὑπόλοιπον 66, 3; strengthened by δὴ—πλήν γε δὴ 56, 4; πρὶν γε δὴ 71, 5. N.B. γε must not be used as equivalent to δὴ

γεγωνίσκω=γέγωννα 76 *n*

γεμίζω, of a ship, 53, 4

γέμω, of a ship, 25, 1

γίγνομαι as passive of ποιοῦμαι *q. v.*; with many military words, as ἀκροβολισμός, ἀνάστασις, δίωξις, ἐμβολή, ναυμαχία, ὁμολογία, στρατεία, φόνος: κάκωσις, πάθος ('disaster') ὠφέλια γίγνεται τινι; ἀμάρτημα, παρανόμημά τινος, τόλμημα, γίγνεται 5; 18; 43; —γίγνομαι ἐπὶ with dat., 'to reach,' 35, 2 *al.*; γ. πρὸς with dat., 43, 3;—of sum totals, as πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο 85, 2;—ἐν χερσὶ γ. 'come to close quarters,' 5, 2;—γ. ὑπὸ τινι, 'fall into the power of,' 64, 1

γλῶσσα: ὅσα ἀπὸ γ. εἴρητο 10



γνώμη: τῆς γ. τὸ θυμούμενον 68, 1; γνώμη)( παρασκευῇ 5, 4 *n*; γ.)( ὅψις 71, 3; 75, 2; 'purpose,' 64, 1; τὴν γ. προσέχειν 15, 2; 23, 1; γ. ποιέσθαι 'propose,' 72, 3; τὴν γ. ἔχειν ὡς with fut. partic. 72, 4, with gen. abs. 15, 1; παρὰ γ. 'unexpectedly,' 13, 2

γνωρίζω, agnosco, 44, 4

γνώσις)( ὅψις 44, 2

Γόγγυλος 2, 1

γοῦν, 'at any rate,' 47, 3; 49, 1

γραμματεὺς 10 *n*

Γύλιππος, lands in Sicily, 1; marches to Syr. and summons the A. to quit; takes Labdalum, 3; at first defeated but afterwards defeats the A., 5, 6; exhorts the S. to attack by sea, 12; takes Plemmyrium, 23; obtains reinforcements, 50; his harangue before the last battle, 66-8; pursues the A., 74-84; N. surrenders to him, 85; N. and Demosth. put to death against his will, 86

γυμνητεία = ψιλοί 37, 2; Herod. ix. 63 contrasts γυμνήτες with hoplites

γυναικες, παῖδες, θεοὶ πατῶροι, commonplaces, 69, 2

## Δ

δαπανᾶν 29, 1; 47, 4; αἱ δα-

πάναι μείζους καθέστασαν 28, 4 δᾶς 53, 4 *n*

δέ: answers τε 81, 3; τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ 36, 4; τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ 75, 4. See under μέν.

δ' οὖν, resuming the narrative, 59, 2 *al*.

δεδιέναι with περὶ and gen., 75, 4. Thuc. often uses δεδιέναι περὶ with dat.

δεῖ: ὡς δεόν 15, 1; ἔδει, of an arrangement made, 8, 3 *al*., — this use is particularly common after *relative pronouns*

δείματα 80, 3 *n*

δεινός: τὰ δεινὰ, of the horrors or difficulties of war, 8, 2;

cf. ξυφορμὰ δεινὴ 29, 5; δεινὸν ἐστὶν εἰ 73, 1; δ. ἐστὶ μὴ 25, 7; δ. ἐστὶν ὅτι 75, 2; δ.

δοκεῖ ὅτι 12, 3

Δεκέλεια, fortified by the Lac., 19; results of the fortification of, 20; 27; 28; 42, 2

δελφινόφορος 41, 2

δεσμοί: δεσμοῖς ἀποθανεῖν 82, 2

δέχομαι, hostile, τοὺς προσφερομένους 44, 4; ἐπιόντας δ. 77, 4

δῆ: intensifying superlatives, 19, 1; 56, 4; 86, 5; esp. after γάρ 70, 4; 75, 7; 85, 4; μόνος δῆ 44, 1; πᾶς δῆ 55, 1; 71, 2; πολλὺς δῆ 55, 2; 70, 7; οὐδεμιᾶς δῆ ἐλάσσων 71, 6; following pronouns, 62, 3, 4; ἵνα δῆ 26, 2; ἐπειδὴ . . . δῆ 13, 2; ὅπως δῆ 18, 1; πρὶν δῆ 39, 2; 'no doubt,' 'of course,' 77, 2; 81, 2; 86, 4; οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν δῆ 77, 3 *n*; πανωλεθρία δῆ 87, 2. δῆ is esp. common after γάρ preceded by an adj. or pronoun

δηλῶ, 'declare,' 10 *n*; 16, 1

δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις 55, 2

διά: (1) gen.: δι' ὀλίγου 15, 2; 36, 5; 39, 2; 71, 3; δι' ἐλάσσονος 4, 1; διὰ παντός,

- ‘throughout,’ 6, 1; 61, 2; διὰ τάχους 22, 2; 29, 2; διὰ μάχης γίνεσθαι 24, 3; διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν 8, 3; διὰ θορύβου 40, 3; δι’ ἀνάγκης 48, 6 *n* and see ἀνάγκη; δι’ ἐκουσίων κινδύνων 8, 3 *n*; (2) accus.: διὰ τὸ with inf. in a long phrase, 12, 4; 36, 3; 44, 5; 81, 4; διὰ τὴν Δεκλείαν τειχιζομένην 42, 2; διὰ τὴν . . . οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγὴν 34, 6 *n*. Note that διὰ is esp. common with neut. pron. in accus.
- διαβάλλω, ‘slander,’ 48, 3; in Thuc. also means ‘to cross,’ = διαβαίνειν
- διάβασις, ‘crossing,’ 84, 3; ‘ford,’ 74, 2
- διαβουέομαι (δια- prob. reciprocal), 50, 4
- διάβροχοι *n*ῆες, rimosae, 12, 3
- διαγγέλλω, of messages passing between besiegers and besieged, 73, 4; διάγγελος 73, 3
- διάγω ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας 39, 2; δ. ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα 71, 3
- διαδοχή: κατὰ δ. χρόνου ἐπιέναι 27, 3; κατὰ δ. 28, 2. διάδοχος τινι 15, 1
- διαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἔργον 19, 1
- δαιτῶμαι: πολλὰ ἐς θεοὺς νόμιμα δεδιήτημαι 77, 2
- διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου 77, 2
- διακελευσμῷ χρῆσθαι 71, 5
- διακινδυνεύω, with infin., 1, 1; δ. ἐς 47, 3; δ. is also used with πρός; cf. βιάζεσθαι ἐς, πρός
- διακλέπτω, ‘make away with,’ 85, 3
- διακρίνεσθαι, of combatants, 34, 6; 38, 1
- διαμαρτάνω τῆς ὁδοῦ 44, 8
- διανοοῦμαι, with fut. infin., 56, 1
- διαπεπολεμήσεται 14, 3; 25, 9.
- διαπολέμησις ταχίστη 42, 4
- διασκοπῶ: διεσκοποῦν περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπη σωθήσονται 71, 6
- διασπῶμαι, ‘am scattered,’ 44, 5
- διαφορά, w. objective gen., 57, 11; διαφοραὶ γίνονται 18, 3
- διάφορον, τό, ‘the difference,’ 55, 2 *n*; 75, 7. διαφόρως 71, 6
- διαφρῶ 32, 1; cf. Aristoph. *Birds* 193
- διαφυγάνω 44, 8
- διδασκαλεῖον 29, 5
- Διειρέφης 29, 1 *n*. Appendix III.
- δίεπλους 36, 4; 70, 4
- δικνεῖσθαι, ‘hit,’ of weapons, 79, 2
- δικαιῶ 68, 1 *n*
- δίκη: κατὰ δίκην 57, 1; δίκας διδόναι ‘submit to a decision,’ 18, 2
- Δίφιλος, succeeds Conon in the command at Naupactus, 413 B.C., 34
- δίωξις γίγνεται 34, 6
- δοκεῖν δ’ ἔμοιγε 87, 6 *n*
- δόκησις προσγίγνεται 67, 1
- δουλοῦμαι τὴν γνώμην 71, 3
- δρῶ τι 86, 3; δ. τὸ αὐτό 83, 1; δρῶ )( πάσχω 71, 7; 77, 4— a common antithesis
- δυνάστης 33, 4 *n*
- δυνατὴ ναῦς )( ἄπλους 60, 2; κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν 36, 4; ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν 74, 1
- δυσανασχετῶ τὰ γιγνόμενα 71, 6 *n*
- δυστυχῶ 18, 2. δυστυχία 86, 5. δυστυχέστατον ἔργον 87, 5. Intr. p. xxxvii.

## E

ἐαυτοῦ : ἀσθενέστερος αὐτὸς ἐ.  
66, 3 *n*; αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμος  
64, 2; τὸ καθ' ἐαυτόν 44, 1;  
69, 2

ἐγγίγνεται φόβος 80, 3; ἐ.  
μέλλησις 49, 4

ἐγγύθεν ὕδατι χρῆσθαι 4, 6

ἐγκατελήφθη, *deprehensus est*,  
24, 2; 30, 2

ἐδώδιμος 39, 2; 78, 4

ἔθνη, *w. plur. verb.* 57, 11; ἐ.  
of small communities, 58, 3

εἰ : note (1) when εἰ with  
optat. appears in *O.O.*, it  
regularly represents either  
*a.* ἐὰν with subj., or *b.* εἰ  
with optat. of *O.R.*; (2) εἰ  
with indic. of *O.R.* remains  
the same in *O.O.* *There is*  
*no exception to these rules in*  
*this book.*—In 6, 1 εἰ παρέλ-  
θοι ταῦτόν ἤδη ἐποίει αὐτοῖς  
represents in past time ἐὰν  
προέλθῃ ταῦτόν ἤδη ποιεῖ  
αὐτοῖς, being a remark by  
Thuc.—εἰ του ἄλλου 21, 5.  
—εἰ πως 79, 5.—εἰ ποτε καὶ  
αὐθις 70, 7.—εἰ μή, 'except,'  
in participial clause, 38, 1.  
—εἰ not really hypothetical,  
67, 1

εἰκός (ἐστι), with aor., pres., or  
perf. infin., 47, 4; 66, 3;  
74, 2; 77, 4; ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος  
66, 2; 68, 3

εἰκότως 18, 2

Εἰλωτες 19, 3; 26, 1; 58, 3

εἰμί : ἔστιν ὦν etc. 11, 2 *n*;  
ἔστιν ὅτε 21, 3; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ  
etc. frequently replace οἱ δὲ  
etc. after οἱ μὲν etc.; parts  
of εἰμι are frequently omitted  
after relative words, esp.  
ὅσος, *q.v.*

εἶμι : regularly present in the  
paradigm, except in *O.O.*,  
21, 4; 35, 2; 57, 9; 74, 2  
*n*; ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι 44, 7; 70,  
5

εἵπερ ποτε 64, 2

εἶπον, 'command,' 29, 1; 'say,'  
with infin., 35, 2; see also  
under λέγω. — ὡς εἰπεῖν,  
qualifying antithesis between  
αὐτοί, 'alone,' and ἅπαντες  
οἱ ἄλλοι 58, 4; qualifying  
χερσαῖοι applied universally,  
67, 2 *n*

εἰρεσίαν, ξυνέχειν τήν, 'to con-  
tinue rowing hard,' 14, 1 *n*

εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων 2, 1; ἐν μὲν  
. . . ἐν δὲ . . . ἐν δὲ 43, 4;

καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον) (κατὰ πολλὰ  
70, 6; καθ' ἐν μόνον 75, 2 *n*

εἰωθός, παρὰ τὸ 60, 5; 75, 5

ἐκ : (1) in adverbial phrases;  
ἐκ βραχείος 49, 2; ἐκ πλαγίου  
6, 2; ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν 79, 4;  
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα 37, 2; ἐξ  
ὅσου 73, 3; ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος 66,  
2; 68, 2; ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς  
57, 7; ἐξ ἀνάγκης 27, 4; (2)  
ἐξ ἀναγκαίου 60, 4; ὡς ἐκ  
τῶν δυνατῶν 74, 1; ὡς ἐκ  
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 76; ἐκ τῶν  
παρόντων 62, 1; 77, 1; (3)  
ἐκ παρασκευῆς κρείσσονος 55,  
2; ἐκ πολλῆς περιουσίας νεῶν  
13, 1; (4) ἐκ παρακελεύσεως  
40, 4; ἐκ περίπλου 36, 3;  
ἐκ καταλόγου 16, 1; 20, 2;  
(5) attraction; μετὰ τήν ἐκ  
τῆς Λακωνικῆς τείχισιν 31, 1;  
cf. 4, 4; 25, 6; 71, 1; (6)  
interchanged with ἀπό, 33, 3;  
with διά, 87, 2

ἐκασταχόθεν, following ὅσος,  
20, 2; 21, 1

ἐκαστος placed in the rel.  
sentence, 4, 3; 13, 2; καθ'

ἕκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων 8, 1 ;  
 ὡς ἕκαστα 65, 2 *n* ; καθ'  
 ἑκάστους )( ξύμπαντες 64, 2  
 ἐκατέρωθεν 34, 2 ; 78, 5. Ad-  
 verbs in -θεν are very idio-  
 matic, esp. followed by  
 nouns in gen. case ; cf.  
 πανταχόθεν, πολλαχόθεν  
 ἐκβαίνω, 'disembark,' 40, 1 ;  
 ἐκβιάζω, causal, 39, 2  
 ἐκβολή, 'river's mouth,' 35, 2 :  
 cf. ἐκβάλλω ; but Thuc. uses  
 ἐξίμι in this sense  
 ἐκγενησόμενον 68, 1  
 ἐκεῖθεν 26, 3  
 ἐκεῖνος : often used of the  
 enemy, as 6, 1 *al.* ; ἐπ'  
 ἐκεῖνα, to Athens, 64, 1, =  
 ἐκεῖσε of 48, 4 ; ἐκεῖνος and  
 αὐτὸς applying to the same  
 person, 14, 3  
 ἐκλείπω, 'not retain,' 'abandon,'  
 ἐκ. ὁτιοῦν τῆς παρασκευῆς 48,  
 5 *n* ; ἐκ. τὰ τείχη 60, 2  
 ἐκούσιος στρατεία 57, 9 ; see  
 ἀνάγκη ; ἐκούσιοι κίνδυνοι 8, 3  
 ἐκπίπτω, = 'to be banished,'  
 33, 5 ; ἐξέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρα-  
 τήπεδον, 'rushed into the  
 camp,' 71, 6. Usually ἐκ-  
 πίπτειν ἐς of men at sea =  
 'to be washed ashore'  
 ἐκτρυχῶ 48, 2  
 ἐκὼν εἶναι 81, 3  
 ἔλασσον : οὐκ ἔ. ἔχειν 5, 4 ; 36,  
 3  
 ἐλάχιστα βλάπτειν 68, 3  
 ἐλευθερία : ἐπ' ἐλευθερία ἀπιέναι  
 82, 1. ἐλευθέρως κοινωνοὶ εἶναι  
 τιнос 63, 4 *n*  
 Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις 80, 2. The  
 regular form to use with  
 πόλις  
 Ἑλληνικός : ἔθνη 58, 3 ; ἔργα  
 87, 5 ; χωρίον 60, 2 ; στρα-  
 τευμα 75, 7

ἐλλιπὴς μνήμης 8, 2  
 ἐλπίζω, with pres. inf. and ἄν,  
 73, 2 ; with aor. inf. and ἄν,  
 61, 3  
 ἐλπίς : ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι, with fut.  
 inf., 46 ; ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἶναι 25,  
 1, 9 ; τὴν ἐ. ἐχρὺν ἔχειν,  
 with inf., 41, 4 ; ἡ ἐ. τοῦ  
 φόβου 61, 2 *n* ; τὸ παρ' ἐλ-  
 πίδα τοῦ αὐχήματος 66, 3 *n*  
 ἐμβάλλω, of ships, 25, 5 *al.* ;  
 ἐμβολή )( προσβολή 70, 4 *n* ;  
 ἐμβολον 36, 3 ; 40, 5  
 ἐμπαλάσσομαι 84, 3 *n*  
 ἐμπαρέχω τὴν πόλιν προκινδυ-  
 νεῦσαι 56, 3 *n*  
 ἐμπερία : τὰ τῆς ἐ. χρήσιμα 49,  
 2 ; πάτριον τὴν ἐ. ἔχειν 21, 3  
 ἐμπορεύομαι 13, 2  
 ἐμφανὴς λόγος, 'public or official  
 statement,' 48, 3 ; cf. ἐμ-  
 φανῶς 48, 1 *n*  
 ἐμφράσσω 34, 2  
 ἐν : (1) in local phrases : ἐν  
 ὀλίγῳ 67, 3 ; 70, 4 ; πλείσται  
 ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἐνανμάχουν 70,  
 4 ; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν 49, 3 ;  
 cf. 87, 2 ; ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα  
 58, 1 ; ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν, 'in  
 front,' 78, 4, 5 ; 81, 3 ; (2)  
 in temporal phrases : ἐν τῷ  
 παραντίκα 71, 7 ; ἐν τῷ  
 αὐτίκα 42, 2 ; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ 63,  
 2 ; ἐν τούτῳ, following ἐπειδὴ  
 with imperf., 23, 2 ; (3) ἐν  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ταράσσεσθαι 67,  
 2 ; 84, 4 ; (4) phrases with  
 εἶναι, equivalent to a verb :  
 εἶναι ἐν ἐλπίσιν, ἐλπίδι 25, 1 ;  
 46 ; ἐν πόνῳ 81, 4 ; ἐν κινδύνῳ  
 58, 4 ; ἐν μεταβολῇ 76 ; ἐν  
 δεινοῖς 8, 1 ; 48, 4 ; ἐν θορύβῳ  
 81, 4 ; ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθύρμας 55,  
 1 ; ἐν τούτῳ τύχης 33, 6 —  
 with γίγνεσθαι : γίγνεσθαι ἐν  
 χερσὶ 5, 2 ; ἐν παραχῇ καὶ



- ἀπορία 44, 1 — with ἔχειν :  
 ἔ. ἐν αἰτία 81, 1 — with  
 ποιεῖσθαι : π. ἐν ὀλιγωρία 3,  
 2 ; (5) ἐν ᾧ, of condition  
 under which, 51, 1 ; 68, 2.  
 — καθεστῶτες ἐν 64, 2 *n* ;  
 ‘owing to,’ 8, 2 ; ἐν τοῖς,  
 with superlative, 19, 4 ; 24,  
 3 ; 27, 3 ; 71, 3
- ἐνάγειν : ὥσπερ προεδέδοκτο  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ . . . ἐναγόντων  
 18, 1
- ἐναντιοῦμαι, augment of, 50, 3 *n*
- ἐνδεῖα διαίτης ἀποθανεῖν 82, 2
- ἐνδιατρίβω 81, 4
- ἐνδοθεν, οἱ, 73, 3
- ἐνέδραν ποιεῖσθαι 32, 2
- ἐνεκα 19 *al.*, and never χάριν  
 in Thuc., except in v. 70  
 τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν. Observe  
 that χάριν as prep. is poetical
- ἐνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν 81, 4 *n*
- ἐνθύμιον ποιοῦμαι, ‘take to heart,’  
 50, 4
- ἐνθυμοῦμαι with accus. ‘to think  
 over,’ 18, 2
- ἐνορῶ, ‘judge from experience,’  
 36, 2 ; 62, 1
- ἐντός τε καὶ ἔξωθεν 36, 2 ; ἔ.  
 ἔχειν 78, 2 ; ἔ. ποιεῖν 5, 3
- ἐξανίστημι τινος ἰδρυθέντας που  
 77, 4
- ἐξεῖπον ἀκριβεῖα 87, 4
- ἐξετάζειν στρατιάν etc. 33, 6 ;  
 35, 1
- ἐξηγοῦμαι 50, 4 *n*
- ἐξορῶ ναῦν 14, 1 *n*
- ἐξουσία (ἐστι), with infin., 12,  
 5 ; ἐξουσία ἀνεπίτακτος, of  
 freedom of action, 69, 2
- ἐξωθῶ 36, 5 *n* ; 52, 2 ; 63, 1
- ἐπαγγέλλω στρατιάν 17, 1 *n*
- ἐπάγω, of an army, 3, 3 ; of  
 supplies, 60, 2 ; ἐπάγεσθαι,  
 to invite in, 57, 11 ; gain
- over, 46 ; ἐπαγωγή 24, 3 ;  
 ἐπακτός 28, 1
- ἐπαίρομαι ὑπὸ μισθοῦ 13, 2 ;  
 contrast ἐπ. τῇ νίκῃ 41, 3 ;  
 with infin., 51, 1
- ἐπαλξίς, collective of the Long  
 Walls, 28, 2
- ἐπαναγωγή 4, 4 ; 34, 6
- ἐπανορθῶ, ‘restore,’ 77, 7
- ἐπάντης 79, 2
- ἐπαύξω 70, 7 *n*
- ἐπειγομαι, with infin., 42, 4 ;  
 70, 3 ; with πρὸς, 84, 2
- ἔπειτα (1) without δέ, following  
 πρῶτον μὲν 19, 1 ; 26, 2 ;  
 43, 1 ; 58, 1 ; 66, 2 ; (2)  
 without δέ, after other  
 phrases, χρόνον μὲν τινα 40,  
 4 ; cf. 78, 7 ; 79, 6 ; ἡμέρας  
 μὲν ὁ 87, 3 ; (3) ἔπειτα δὲ  
 καὶ 23, 1 ; 52, 2 ; 82, 1 ; (4)  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . ἔπειτα  
 34, 4. Note (1) when καὶ  
 follows ἔπειτα, δὲ is always  
 inserted, (2) μάλιστα μὲν is  
 always followed by ἔπειτα δὲ  
 when ἔπειτα is used, (3) τὸ  
 (μὲν) πρῶτον . . . ἔπειτα  
 μέντοι is a more emphatic  
 formula
- ἐπεκβοηθῶ 53, 2
- ἐπεκπλέω 37, 2
- ἐπεξάγω 52, 2
- ἐπεξέρχομαι 51, 2. These with  
 ἐπεκθέω represent the com-  
 pounds of ἐπεκ- used by Thuc.  
 Note their military sense
- ἐπερωτῶ 10
- ἐπέχω τὸ . . . ἐπιχειρεῖν, ‘re-  
 frain from attacking,’ 33, 3  
*n* ; ἔ., ‘to stop,’ 50, 4 ; 74,  
 1 ; ἔ. τὴν γῆν, *obtinerere*, 62,  
 4
- ἐπί : (1) with gen. ; *place*,—  
 ‘towards,’ as in ἐπ’ οἴκου ;  
 ‘on,’ as ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν 71, 5 ;

- time*,—ἐπ' ἐμοῦ 86, 5 ; *man-*  
*ner*,—ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ὁρμίζω ναῦς  
 59, 3 ; οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων  
 παρατάσσω 79, 1 ; (2) with  
 dat. ; *place*,—'on,' as in τὸ  
 ἐπὶ θαλάσση τεῖχος 4, 2 ; 'at,'  
 ἐφ' ὅπλοις 28, 2 *n* ; *circum-*  
*stances* under which anything  
 is done, often preceded by  
 ὡς, —ἐπὶ προφάσει, 'on an  
 opportunity,' 13, 2 *n* ; (ὡς)  
 εὐπραγία 46, 1 ; 81, 5 ;  
 cf. 59, 2 ; 62, 1 ; 69, 2 ; ἐπ'  
 αἰσχυρᾷ αἰτία ἀπολέσθαι 48,  
 4 ;—'after,' τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 62, 3 ;—'with a view to,'  
 often preceded by ὡς, as ὡς  
 ἐπὶ τιμωρία 68, 1 ; 73, 3 ; εἰ.  
 τῷ σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ 79, 3 ;  
 ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ 19, 2 *n* ;—'con-  
 sidering,' ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει 30,  
 4 ;—'on condition of,' ἐπ'  
 ἐλευθερία ἀπιέναι 82, 1 ;—'in  
 addition to,' 86, 2 ;—'in the  
 power of,' 12, 5 ; (3) with  
 accus. ; *place*—motion to-  
 wards or on to, as ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα  
 =ἐκεῖσε 64, 1 ; ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 'far,' 11, 4 ; 40, 5 ; 65, 2 ;  
 ἐπὶ πλεόν 'further,' 48, 2 ;  
 ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον (ἐδύνατο) 69,  
 3 ; 76 ; τὸ (τὰ) ἐπὶ θάτερα,  
 'the other side,' 37, 2 ; 84,  
 4 ; ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἔχω=ἐπαμ-  
 φοτερίζω 48, 3 ; ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον  
 χωρεῖν 50, 3 ; *time*—ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 22, 2 ; 38, 1 ; 39, 2 ; 71, 5 ;  
 79, 6 ; *extent* reached—ἐπὶ  
 πλεόν, 'more,' 48, 2 ; ἐπὶ  
 ὅσον 66, 1 ; *purpose*—ἐπὶ  
 φρυγανισμόν ἐξελθεῖν 4, 6 ;  
 ἐπὶ στρατιὰν οἴχεσθαι 7, 2 ;  
 12, 1 ; ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο 34, 5 ;  
 36, 1
- ἐπιβαίνω, with ἐπὶ and accus.,  
 69, 4 ; with dat., 70, 5
- ἐπιβάτης 1, 5 ; 62, 3 ; 70, 3  
 ἐπιβοηθῶ 3, 4 ; 14, 3 ; 53, 3  
 ἐπιβολή 62, 3 ; 65, 1  
 ἐπιβουλεύω, 'make plans for,'  
 with accus., 51, 1  
 ἐπιβουλή νεῶν, 'a plan against  
 ships,' 70, 6  
 ἐπιβοῶ 70, 7 ; middle, 69, 2 ;  
 75, 4  
 ἐπιγίγνομαι, of seasons, 10 ;  
 19, 1 ; of night, 87, 2 ; of  
 suffering, 87, 1 ; 'to attack,'  
 32, 2  
 Ἐπίδαυρος ἡ Λιμηρά, 18, 3 ;  
 26, 1  
 ἐπιδιδούσα, 'increasing,' ἰσχύς,  
 8, 1  
 ἐπιδιώκω 41, 2 ; 53, 3  
 ἐπιθεασμός 75, 4  
 ἐπιθυμῶ ἐπιδεῖν τι 77, 7. ἐπι-  
 θυμία τοῦ πιεῖν 84, 2  
 ἐπικάθημαι, 'besiege,' 27, 4  
 ἐπικαταβαίνω, πρὸς τόπον, 23,  
 1 ; 35, 2 ; 84, 5  
 ἐπίκειμαι, 'press on,' 42, 3 ;  
 71, 5 ; 79, 5 ; 84, 3 ; with  
 dat., 81, 4  
 ἐπικηρυκεύομαι, with πρὸς, 49, 1 ;  
 with ὡς, 48, 2 ; with dat.,  
 83, 2  
 ἐπὶ κλησὶς αἰσχίστη 68, 2 *n*  
 ἐπικουρῶ, of an auxiliary force,  
 57, 10. ἐπικουρίαν πορίζω  
 18, 4 ; αἱ ἐπικουρίαι ξυλλέ-  
 γονται 59, 1. ἐπικουρικὰ  
 πράγματα, of a power that  
 depends on hired force, 48, 5  
 ἐπικρατῶ, absol. and instrum.  
 dat., 42, 6 ; 63, 2 ; 71, 3 ;  
 72, 1  
 ἐπικρεμάμενος κίνδυνος 75, 7 ;  
 cf. II. 54 τιμωρία ἐπεκρεμάσθη  
 ἐπιλέγομαι τοὺς βελτίστους 19,  
 3 *n*  
 ἐπίλοιποι νῆες 22, 2  
 ἐπιμέλομαι absol., 8, 3 ; 39, 2.

- ἐπιμέλεια ἐστί τις 16, 2;  
ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῶμαι περὶ τοῦ  
σωθῆναι 56, 2  
ἐπιμεταπέμπομαι 7, 3  
ἐπιπαρεῖμι 76  
ἐπιπέμπω) (μεταπέμπω 15, 1  
ἐπιπίπτω, of trouble, 29, 5;  
'to attack,' 29, 3; 'to fall  
on,' 84, 3  
ἐπιπλέω, absol., or with dat.,  
12, 4 *al.* ἐπίπλευσις 36, 6.  
ἐπίπλους 36, 1; ἐπίπλουν ἔχω  
49, 2  
ἐπιπληροῦμαι 14, 2  
Ἐπιπολαί 1, 1 *n*; 2; 4; 5; 6;  
42; 43  
ἐπιρρῶννυμαι, 'take heart,' 2,  
3; 7, 4; 17, 3  
ἐπισκευάζω 1, 1 *n*; 24, 1; 38,  
2; mid. 'alter construction  
of,' 36, 2  
ἐπίσταμαι 14, 1 *al.* ἐπιστήμη  
21, 4 *al.*  
ἐπιστέλλω 14, 4. ἐπιστολή 8,  
2; 10, 1; 11, 1; 16, 1  
ἐπιτερίζω 47, 4. ἐπιτερισμός  
18, 4  
ἐπιτήδειος, 'friendly,' 73, 3;  
75, 3; 'necessary' or 'desir-  
able,' 20, 2; 60, 3; τὰ ἐ. 4,  
4 *al.*  
ἐπιτήδευσις 86, 5 *n*  
ἐπιτίθωμι τὴν εἰκοστήν 28, 4.  
ἐπιτίθεμαι, 'attack,' 41, 4  
*al.*; ἐ. τῇ πείρᾳ, 'make the  
attempt,' 42, 4  
ἐπιτίμησις 48, 3  
ἐπιτρέπω 18, 3 *n*  
ἐπιτυγχάνω, 'fall in with,' 25,  
2  
ἐπιφανής, 'visible,' 3, 4; 19,  
2; 'famous,' 69, 2  
ἐπιφέρω, military word, 18, 2;  
37, 3; 40, 4; 56, 2; 70, 2  
ἐπιφήμισμα 75, 7  
ἐπιφθονος 77, 3  
ἐπιχειρῶ 7, 4 *al.* ἐπιχείρημα  
47, 1. ἐπιχείρησις 12, 5 *al.*  
ἐπιχωρίῳ τάξει, ἐν 30, 2  
ἐποικοδομῶ 4, 3  
ἐποικῶ 27, 3  
ἐπονομάζω πατρόθεν καὶ αὐτοὺς  
ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλὴν 69, 2 *n*  
ἐποτρύνω τὸν πόλεμον ἔτι μᾶλλον  
γίγνεσθαι 25, 2  
ἐποψις ἀνώματος 71, 2 *n*  
ἐπωτίδες 34, 5 *al.*  
ἐργαλεῖα, 'tools,' 18, 4  
ἔργον) (λόγος 48, 3 *n*; 69, 2;  
ἐ. ἄξιον τοῦ κινδύνου 21, 2;  
ἐ. μέγα 87, 5; =μάχη 71,  
3; διελέσθαι τὸ ἐ. 19, 1  
Ἐρινεὸς τῆς Ἀχαΐας 34, 1; ὁ  
Ἐ. ποταμός 80, 5  
ἔρμα 25, 7 *n*  
Ἐρμοκράτης, urges the S. to  
attack the A. by sea, 21, 3;  
delays the A. retreat by a  
trick, 74, 1  
ἐρωτῶ 44, 4. ἐρωτήμασι πυκ-  
νοῖς χρῆσθαι 44, 4  
ἐς: (1) with nouns and adjs.,  
προθυμία ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν 70,  
3; πρόθυμος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
18, 3; ἐξουσία ἐς διαίταν 69;  
ἐπιτήδειος ἐς διαίταν 74, 1;  
ἐς πόλεμον 20, 2; ὠφελία ἐς  
τὸ θαρσεῖν 69, 3; ἀργὸς ἐς τὸ  
δρᾶν 67, 3; ῥάδιος ἐς τὸ  
βλάπτεσθαι 67, 3; ὕστερος ἐς  
τᾶλλα 77, 2; (2) with καθί-  
στημι, and similar words;  
καθιστάναι ἐς φυγὴν 43, 7;  
κ. ἐς φόβον 44, 7; καθίστα-  
σθαι ἐς ἀντίπαλα 13, 2; κ. ἐς  
φιλονικίαν 28, 3; κ. ἐς μάχην  
53, 2; κ. ἐς ἀπόνοιαν 67, 4;  
κ. ἐς λύπην 75, 3; ἀναγκά-  
ζεσθαι ἐς 62, 4; (3) with  
λέγειν: ἐλθεῖν ἐς χεῖρας 44, 7;  
70, 5; ἐς τὴν πείραν 21, 4;  
ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τελευτήν 75, 6;

(4) with verbs, describing the end, purpose, or view: ὠφελεῖσθαι ἐς τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι 63, 3; οἰκοδομεῖν ἐς τὸ κακοურγεῖν 19, 2; ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένη δίαίτα 86, 5; διστάσθαι ἐς θεοὺς, ἀνθρώπους 77, 2; ξυντάσσεσθαι ὡς ἐς μάχην 2, 3; cf. 3, 2; τάσσεσθαι ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος 74, 2; πέμπειν ἐς φυλακὴν 4, 6; cf. 71, 6; πράσσειν τι ἐς ἀναβολάς 15, 2; ἐπινοεῖν ὀλιγὸν οὐδὲν ἐς οὐδὲν 59, 3; κακοπαθεῖν ὀλιγὸν οὐδὲν ἐς οὐδὲν 87, 6;  
 (5) 'in the presence of,' 56, 2 ἔσβασις, 'embarkation,' 30, 2 ἔσβιβάζω 60, 4 ἔσεληλυθότες ἔτυχον 29, 5 ἔσηγοῦμαι 73, 1 ἔσκομιζομαι 13, 1. ἐσκομιδὴ 4, 4; 24, 3 ἔσπλους 41, 2 *n* ἕτερος: ἕτερος ἐτέρου προφέρει 64, 2; μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἀδόκητος 29, 5; κρείσσων ἐτέρας ῥώμης 63, 4; μὴ καθ' ἕτερα = κατὰ μηδέτερα 59, 2; cf. 33, 2; 44, 1 ἔτι, 'in addition,' 7, 3 *al.* It may qualify a noun ἐτοῖμα: ἔπειδὴ ἐ. ἦν 50, 4; 60, 5; 65, 3 Εὐβοία, her importance to A. as a source of supplies, 28, 1; inhabitants of, 57, 2 *n* εὐκαθαιρετός 18, 2 εὐνοιά τινος, 'good-will towards,' 57, 10 εὐπραγία, ἐπ', 46; 81, 5; ἐν 86, 4 εὐπρεποῦς, ἐκ τοῦ 57, 7 Εὐρύηλος 2, 3; 43, 3 Εὐρυμέδων, A. general, 16; 31; 33; 35; 42; 49; 52

εὐρυχωρία 3, 3 *al.* εὐτακτος πορεία 77, 5 εὐτυχῶ 63, 4; 68, 3. εὐτυχία 77, 2, *p.* xxxvii. εὐχή 75, 7 εὐψυχία προφέρειν 64, 2 ἐφορῶ 61, 3; ἐπιδεῖν 61, 1; 77, 7 ἐχυρός: ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ εἶναι 77, 6; ἐχυρὰν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχειν 41, 4 ἔχω ἔλασσον 5, 4; ἔ. τι πλεον 36, 2; ἔ. πλείστον 36, 5 *n*; ἐν αἰτία ἔ. 81, 1; διὰ φυλακῆς ἔ. 8, 3; κακῶς ἔ. 80, 1; πονήρως ἔ. 83, 4; ὡς εἶχον τάχους 2, 1; ὡς τῆς ξυντυχίας ἔσχον 57, 1 *n*; σχεῖν, 'touch at,' 2, 1; 26, 2 ἔω, ἅμ' 72, 3; ἅμα τῇ 23, 1 ἔως ἔτι οἶόν τε 47, 3 ἔωσπερ 19, 5 *n*

## Ζ

Ζακύνθιοι, as allies of A., 31, 2 *n*; 57, 7 *n* ζευγμα λιμένος 69, 4 ζητῶ: ἐζητουν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς 44, 4 ζωγρῶ 23, 4 *al.* ζῶν καταλείπομαι 75, 3 *n*; ζῶντας ξυγκομίζειν, of prisoners, 85, 2

## Η

ἡγοῦμαι, of a general, 19, 1 *n*; ἡγεμών 15, 1; παρέχομαι ἡγεμόνα 58, 3; δίδωμι ἡ. 50, 2; ἡ. γίγνομαι 56, 3 ἦδη: 'already,' describing the circumstances at a given time: note (1) it is much



commoner than our 'already'; (2) it is esp. common with the partic., but must only be used with *pres.* or *perf.* partic.; (3) it is common after compar., esp. *μᾶλλον*—'before now,' with aor., 77, 1, 4; 'at once,' 15, 1; 73, 1

ἡδονήν τινα διασώσασθαι 63, 3  
ἡδύς: τὰ ἡδιστα ἀκούειν 14, 4;  
ἡδίω ἐπιστέλλειν 14, 4;  
ἡδιστόν ἐστι ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι 68, 1

ἡκιστα δὴ ἄξιος 86, 5; οὐχ ἡκιστα 86, 3, 4 *al.*

ἡκω, 'arrive,' 1, 4 *n*; 17, 3 *al.*; 'return,' 21, 1

ἡλικίας φείδεσθαι 29, 4; ἡ. μετέχειν 60, 3 *n*; ὀπλιτῶν ἡλικία 64, 1

ἡλιοι 87, 1 *n*

ἡμέρα γίγνεται 44, 8; 81, 1; ἅμα τῇ ἡ. 29, 3; δι' ἡμέρας 82, 1; καθ' ἡ. 'daily,' 8, 1; τῆς ἡ. 'per day,' 27, 2; τῆς ἡ. ἐπὶ πολὺ 38, 1; τὴν ἐπιούσ. ἡ. 74, 1

ἡμετέρα, ἡ (γῆ) 68, 2

ἡμίεργα ἔστιν ἃ κατελέλειπτο 2, 4

ἡμισυ: τὸ ἡ. μάλιστα καὶ πλεόν 80, 4

ἡνίκα ξυνεσκόταζε 73, 3

ἡπιώτερα ἔχειν 77, 4

Ἡρακλεῖς 73, 2

ἡσση καταπεπλήχθαι 72, 4

ἡσσον: οὐδενὸς ἡ. 30, 4; οὐχ ἡσσον 61, 1 *n*; 11, 1 *al.*; οὐδὲν ἡ. 78, 1 *al.*

ἡσσωμαί τινος 40, 2

ἡσσων: οὐδεμιᾶς ἡ. 29, 5

ἡσυχάζω 3, 3 *n.* τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζον 83, 4

ἡσυχίαν, καθ' 38, 3 *al.*

## Θ

θάλασσα: ἀπὸ θ. 29, 3; διὰ θαλάσσης 59, 2; ἐπὶ θαλάσση 4, 2; κατὰ θάλασσαν 4, 1

θαλασσεύω 12, 3

θαλασσοκρατῶ 48, 2

θαρσῶ: ὠφελία μεγίστη ἐς τὸ θαρσεῖν 69, 3; ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσήσῃ 29, 4

θάτερα, ἐπὶ 37, 2; 84, 4

Θάψος, A. naval station, 49, 2

θέα, ἡ, δι' ὀλίγου ἐστι 71, 2

θεασμῷ προσκείσθαι ἄγαν 50, 4

θεῖον: τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θ. 77, 4

θεοὶ πατρῶοι, gods of a family, 69, 2; θεῶν ἀνάκλησις 71, 3; θεοῖς ἐπιφθονος 77, 3

θεραπεύω μὴ with inf., 70, 3

Θηβαῖοι 18, 2; 19, 3

θορυβοῦμαι 3, 1 *al.* θόρυβος: διὰ πολλοῦ θ. 40, 3; θ. παρέχειν 44, 4; ἐν πολλῷ θ. εἶναι 81, 4

Θρᾶκες, barbarity of, 29

θρασεῖα ἐλπίς τοῦ μέλλοντος 77, 3

θυμούμενον, τό 68, 1

## I

Ἰαπυγία 33, 3

ιδέα πᾶσα ὀλέθρου 29, 5

ιδίᾳ 48, 4 *n*

ιδρυθέντας ἐξαναστήσαι 77, 4

ικανός )( ἀναγκαῖος 69, 3 *n*; ἱκανὰ ἡντύχηται 77, 3

ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσται 75, 1

Ἰμέρα 1, 3 *n*

ἴνα, *ut*, rare in Thuc. compared w. ὅπως: four times in this book

Ἰόνιος, ὁ (κόλπος) 33, 3

ἱππικόν, τό 30, 2

ἴσα, adverbial, 71, 3. See στρατός

ισθμῶδες χωρίον 26, 2  
 ισομοιρία κακῶν 75, 6 *n*  
 ἴσθημι τροπαῖον τῆς νίκης, τροπῆς  
 etc., 5, 3 *al.*  
 ἰσχυρά γίνεται ἡ ναυμαχία 72,  
 1  
 ἰσχυρίζομαι 49, 1  
 ἰσχύς: παρὰ ἰσχὺν τῆς δυνάμεως  
 ἐνδιδόναι 66, 3  
 ἴσχω: χαλεπώτερον ἴσχει τὰ  
 πράγματα 50, 3; νῦν ἴ. 35,  
 2

## K

καθάπερ 32, 2  
 καθέξομαι, of armies, 51, 1 *al.*  
 καθίζω στρατιάν 82, 3 *n*  
 καθίστημι. See ἐς. παρὰ τὸ  
 καθεστηκός 67, 2  
 καθυπέρτερα τὰ πράγματά ἐστι  
 56, 2  
 καί: note the following uses;  
 (1) *corrective*, as ἀντίπαλοι  
 τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἔτι πλείους 12,  
 4; (2) 'and so,' very often  
 introducing a sentence; (3)  
 double use in balanced  
 clauses, as πολλάκις μὲν καὶ  
 ἄλλοτε . . . μάλιστα δὲ καὶ  
 τότε 8, 1. καὶ . . . δέ 56, 3  
 καιρός: κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ κ. 2, 4  
*n*; ἀνάγκαι στασιωτικῶν και-  
 ρῶν 57, 11 *n*; ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ  
 ἤδη τοῦ κ. ὄντες 69, 2  
 κακοπαθῶ 87, 2, 5 *n*. κακοπα-  
 θία, ἡ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν 77, 1  
 κακουργῶ 4, 6; 19, 2  
 κακῶ τὰ πράγματα 27, 3. κά-  
 κωσις γίνεται 4, 6  
 καλός: καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων  
 ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται 66, 1; καλὸν  
 ἐστι *w. inf.* 70, 7 *al.*; τὸ  
 πλεον καλόν 71, 1

Καμάρινα 33, 1 *n*  
 καρποῦμαι ἐλευθερίαν 68, 3  
 καρτερὰ ναυμαχία 70, 2  
 καρτερῶ προσκαθήμενος 48, 2  
 Καρύστιοι 57, 4  
 κατὰ: with accus., (1) *local*;  
 κατὰ βραχὺ τι 2, 4; κατὰ τὴν  
 εὐρυχωρίαν 6, 2; κατὰ τὸν  
 ἄλλον κύκλῳ λιμένα 70, 1;  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα 63, 3; κατὰ  
 χώραν μένειν 49, 3 *n*; τὸ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὸν 44, 1; (2) *temporal*,  
 time at which; κατὰ τοῦτο  
 τοῦ καιροῦ 2, 4; κατ' ἀρχάς  
 28, 3; κατὰ τὴν πορείαν 85,  
 4; κ. τὴν ναυμαχίαν 24, 1;  
 (3) 'owing to'; κατὰ τε  
 ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι 56, 3; κ. ξυγ-  
 γενείαν 57, 1; κ. τὸ ξυγγενές  
 58, 3; καθ' ἐν μόνον 75, 1 *n*;  
 κ. πάντα 58, 4; 87, 6; κατ'  
 ἀνάγκην 57, 1 *n*; κ. τὸ ξυμ-  
 φέρον 57, 1; κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος  
 57, 5; κ. τὸ νησιωτικόν 57,  
 7; κ. ξυμφορὰν 57, 8; (4)  
 'according to'; κ. τὸ δυνατόν  
 36, 4; πλείω ἢ κατὰ τοὺς  
 νεκρούς 45, 2; μείζω ἢ κ.  
 δάκρυα 75, 4; τὰ κατὰ τὰς  
 σπονδὰς 18, 3; αὐτὴν καθ'  
 αὐτὴν 28, 3; (5) 'opposite';  
 κατ' αὐτοὺς 6, 3; κατ' Ἐρινεὸν  
 ὀρμίζεσθαι 34, 1; (6) 'via';  
 as κ. τὰς Ἐπιπολάς 1, 1; κ.  
 γῆν, θάλασσαν 28, 1 *al.*;  
 κ. πλοῦν εἶναι 31, 3; (7)  
 distributive; as κ. διαδοχὴν  
 27, 3; καθ' ἕκαστα 8, 1; κ.  
 τὰς πόλεις 13, 2; κ. βραχὺ  
 τρέπεσθαι 79, 5; κ. τοὺς  
 ξυμμάχους περιαγγέλλειν 18,  
 4;—with *gen.* κατὰ κρημνῶν  
 44, 8 *n*  
 κατάβασις, ἡ πάλιν 44, 8  
 καταβιβάζω ἐς λιθοτομίας 86, 2  
 καταβυρσῶ ἐπὶ πολὺ νεώς 65, 2

κατάγγελτος γίγνομαι, with  
 partic., 48, 1  
 καταγιγνώσκω μὴ κρείσσων εἶναι  
 τινος 51, 1  
 καταδαμάζομαι 81, 5  
 καταδουλώσει, ἐπὶ 66, 2  
 καταδρομὰς ποιοῦμαι 27, 5  
 καταθέω τὴν χώραν 27, 4  
 καταίρω )( ὀρμᾶσθαι 49, 2  
 κατακολυμβῶ 25, 6  
 καταλαμβάνω (τινα τι ποιοῦντα)  
 2, 1  
 καταλόγου, ἐκ 16, 1 *n*; 20, 2  
 καταμέμφομαι ἐμαυτὸν ταῖς ξυμ-  
 .φοραῖς 77, 1. κατάμεμψις  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν 75, 5  
 Κατάνη 14; 60; 80, 2 *n*; 85,  
 4  
 καταπροδίδωμι 48, 4  
 καταράσσω 6, 3 *n*  
 καταρρέω 84, 3  
 κατατραυματίζω ναῦν 41, 4  
 καταφεύξις 38, 3; -ιν ποιεῖσθαι  
 41, 1  
 κατεργάζομαι ἔργον ἄξιον 21, 2  
 κατήφεια 75, 5 *n*  
 κατίσχω ἐς 33, 4  
 <κατοκνῶ> τὸν πόλεμον 31, 4  
*n*  
 κελευστής 70, 6  
 κεναὶ ἀνδρῶν νῆες 77, 7  
 κέρδος, διὰ 57, 9; κέρδει 57, 10  
 Κέρκυρα, its support of A., 57,  
 7 *n*. Coreyra had only an  
 ἐπιμαχία with A., and there-  
 fore was not bound ἀνάγκη  
 to send aid; but she pre-  
 tended to be so, and could  
 make out a good case  
 κληματίδες καὶ δᾶς 57, 4 *n*  
 κλήσεις, concrete sense of  
 κλήσις 70, 2. κληστὸς λιμὴν  
 38, 2 *n*  
 κοῖλος ποταμός, 'r. with a deep  
 bed,' 51, 2  
 κοινολογοῦμαι 86, 4

κοινὸς ἅπασιν 61, 1; τὸ κοινόν  
 85, 3  
 κοινωνοὶ ἀρχῆς 63, 4  
 κολουομαι 66, 3  
 κομιδῇ, ἡ ἐς Σικελίαν 34, 1  
 κομίσας μεταστῆσαι 39, 2 *n*  
 Κόνων, as commander at Nau-  
 pactus, 31. Cf. Appendix  
 III.  
 κόπῳ ἀλίσκεσθαι, 40, 4  
 Κορίνθιοι, energy of against  
 the A., 7; 17; 19; 31; 34;  
 39; 58, 3; 70; 86, 4  
 κόσμῳ, οὐδενί 23, 3; 40, 3; 84, 3  
 κούφισις 75, 6  
 κράτιστα, τὰ τῆς χώρας, 'the  
 richest parts,' 19, 2  
 κρατῶ, construction of, 11, 2  
*n*. κράτος, κατὰ 41, 1  
 κραυγῇ χρῶμαι 44, 4; 71, 5  
 κρούομαι πρύμναν 40, 1; 70, 8  
 κρύφιος: ἡ κ. τῆς σταυρώσεως  
 25, 7  
 κτείνω 29, 4  
 κυκλοῦμαι, in military sense,  
 81, 2, 4  
 κωλύματα σβεστήρια 53, 4 *n*

## Λ

Λάβδαλον 3, 4 *n*  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, aid Syr., 1; 17;  
 27; 28; invade Attica and  
 fortify Decelea, 18; 19; their  
 relations with Nicias, 86  
 λαμβάνω ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Σικελίαν  
 1, 1; λ. ἀπόπειραν = ποιεῖσθαι  
 ἀπόπειραν 21, 2  
 λαμπρὰ νίκη, 'decisive victory,'  
 55, 1 *n*. λαμπρῶς ἐπικεῖσθαι  
 71, 5. Cf. λαμπρὸς applied  
 to warriors  
 λαμπρότητός τι ὑπάρχει τινι 69,  
 2; ἀπὸ οἵας λ. καὶ αὐχήματος  
 75, 6

λέγω, with inf. instead of ὅτι, 21, 3; λ. τι πρὸς χάριν 8, 2; τὸ λεγόμενον, 'according to the proverb,' 68, 1 n; 87, 6  
λείπομαι τῆς τέχνης 70, 3  
λέπας Ἀκραῖον 78, 5  
ληστείας ποιοῦμαι 27, 4  
λιθοτομίαι 86, 2  
λιμὴν κληστός 38, 2  
λιμῶ πιέζομαι 87, 2  
λόγος. See ἔργον. ἄξιον τι λόγου παραλαβεῖν 38, 1  
λοιπός, either agreeing with a case or with gen., 72, 3  
λωφῶσιν αἱ συμφοραί, medical met., 77, 3

## M

μαλακίζομαι 68; 3; μαλακισθεῖς σωθῆναι 77, 7  
μάλιστα, among other superlatives, 42, 3 n; οἱ μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ 29, 4  
μᾶλλον: οὐ μ. ἢ 25, 9; 36, 3; 57, 9; 67, 4; 69, 3; 81, 5; οὐ μᾶλλον . . . ἀλλὰ 57, 1; μ. ἤδη 37, 1; 43, 7; 57, 9; ἐπικουρικὰ μ. ἢ δι' ἀνάγκης 48, 5; μ. ἐτέρας 29, 5 n  
μανθάνω ἥσσω ὧν 42, 3  
Μαντινῆς, as mercenaries, 57, 9 n  
Μεγαρέων φυγάδες 57, 8 n  
μέγεθος: ὑπὸ μεγέθους (τοῦ κακοῦ etc.) 72, 2; 75, 7; ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει 30, 4; πόλεις μεγέθει ἔχουσαι 55, 2  
μεθιστάναι παρὰ θάλασσαν (?) 39, 2 n  
μείζων, double in a proportion, 28, 4 n; μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα 75, 4  
μέλλησις ἐγγίγνεται 49, 4  
μὲν . . . μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δὲ

28, 3 n; μὲν . . . μέντοι 14, 4; μὲν . . . δὲ may be separated by many words, but often μὲν is omitted where this would be the case, as 5, 3 ὁ Γύλιππος (v. l. ὁ μὲν Γ.) . . . 6, 1 ὁ δὲ Νικίας

Μένανδρος, specially appointed general, 16; 43; 69, 4  
μεσόγεια: ἰέναι διὰ μεσογείας 80, 5

μετά: (1) with gen.; concurrent act or state: ὀλοφυρμῷ μετὰ βοῆς χρῆσθαι 71, 4; λύπη μετὰ φόβου 75, 3; μετ' ἀσθενείας ἐπιστήμη 63, 4;—τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν 75, 6 n; ψηφίζεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν 48, 1 n;—μετὰ μισθοῦ ἐλθεῖν 57, 9; οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων εἶναι, of neutrals, 38, 2. (2) with accus.; place—οἰκεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦς 58, 1

μεταβολὴ πολιτείας 55, 2; ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ εἶναι 76

μετάμελος μέγας τῆς στρατείας 55, 1

μεταχειρίζω τινα χαλεπῶς 87, 1  
μετέχω ἡλικίας 60, 3; τῆς ἀρχῆς 63, 3

μετέωροι ἐάλωσαν 71, 6; μετέωρόν τι, locus editus, 82, 3

μετοπωριναὶ αἱ νύκτες ἐπιγίγνονται 87, 1

μετόπωρος: πρὸς μετόπωρόν ἐστι τὸ ἔτος 79, 3

μέχρι νυκτός 38, 3; μ. ὀψέ 83, 3; μ. οὐ ἂν 83, 2

μῆ: ὑπόνοια μῆ . . . 49, 4; εἰ μῆ w. partic. 38, 1: ὅτι μῆ, 'except,' 42, 6; μῆ . . . τις 68, 3; 69, 2; 81, 5; μῆ κατ' ἀνάγκην 70, 8

μηδὲ καθ' ἕτερα 59, 2; μηδ' ὡς 28, 3 n



μηνοειδὲς χωρίον 34, 2  
 μήτε . . . μήτε . . . μήτε 82,  
 2. The usual formula is  
 μήτε . . . μήτε . . . μηδέ  
 μηχανᾶται τάδε 73, 3  
 μίμησις τρόπων 63, 3  
 μισθοῦ, 'for pay,' 25, 7; μετὰ  
 μ. 57, 9  
 μισθοφόροι 57, 3 *al.*  
 μνήμης ἐλλειψὶς γίγνεσθαι 8, 2  
 μονῇ ἄχθεσθαι 47, 1; μονῇ  
 γίγνεται 50, 4  
 Μυκαλησσός, disgraceful treat-  
 ment of, 29 *n*  
 μυριοφόρος ναὺς 25, 6 *n*  
 μυχὸς τοῦ λιμένος 4, 4; 52, 2

## N

ναυβάτης 75, 7 *n*  
 ναυκρατῶ 60, 2  
 ναυλοχῶ, 'watch for' at sea, 4,  
 7  
 ναυμαχῶ ἀγκώματα 71, 4; *n.*  
 ἀντίπαλα 34, 6  
 Ναύπακτος, A. station at, 17,  
 4 *n*; 19; 31; 34  
 ναυπηγήσιμα ξύλα 25, 2  
 νεκροὶ . . . οἱ ἀπέθνησκον 87,  
 2 *n*  
 νέμομαι μέρος γῆς 58, 2  
 νεοδαμῳδεὶς 19, 3; 58, 3  
 νεφρίτις νόσος 15, 1; *p.* xxxiv.  
 νεώριον 22, 1  
 νεώσοικοι 25, 6  
 νεωτερίζω ἐς ἀσθένειαν 87, 1  
 νεώτερόν τι γίγνεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 86, 4  
 νησιωτικόν, τό, 57, 7  
 Νικίας, *Intr.* § 2  
 νομίζεσθαι, 'to be directed,' 86,  
 5  
 νόμιμα, τά 57, 2  
 νοῦν, τόν, ἔχειν πρὸς τι 19, 5.  
 Neither νοῦς nor φρήν, but

γνώμη or διάνοια is the  
 ordinary word in narrative  
 prose

νυκτομαχία 44, 1

## Ξ

ξενотροφῶ 48, 5  
 ξηρότης νεῶν 12, 3  
 ξυγγένειαν, κατὰ 57, 1  
 ξυγγιγνώσκω τι, 'agree to,' 73,  
 2  
 ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν 15, 2  
 ξυγκαταλαμβάνω 26, 3  
 ξύγκλυδες ἄνθρωποι 5, 4  
 ξυγκρούς ἀντίπρωρος 36, 4  
 ξυγκτίζω πόλιν 57, 9  
 ξυγκτῶμαι τὴν χώραν 57, 1  
 ξύλινος πύργος 25, 6  
 ξύλλογος 31, 5  
 ξυμβαίνω: τοιαῦτα ξυνέβη, 'turn  
 out,' 30, 4; ξυμβαίνει, placed  
 first and followed by *inf.*,  
 11, 4 *al.* ξ.; 'to agree to  
 terms,' 83, 2  
 ξυμαχικόν, κατὰ τό 20, 1; 33, 5  
 ξύμπαν, τό, γινῶναι 77, 7; τὸ ξ.  
 εἰπεῖν 49, 3  
 ξυμπορίζω εἴ τι ἔχω 20, 2  
 ξυμφέρον, κατὰ τό 57, 1. ξυνη-  
 νέχθη=ξυνέβη 44, 1 *n*  
 ξύν 42, 1 *n.* Cf. ξυναμφότεροι  
 1, 5 *al.*  
 ξυναγείρω (στρατόν) 32, 1  
 ξυναθροίζω 86, 1  
 ξυναναπείθω 21, 3  
 ξυνδιασώζω 57, 1  
 ξυνεχής: τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχὲς τῆς  
 ἀμίλλης 71, 3; ἐν πόνῳ ξυν-  
 εχεστέρω εἶναι 81, 4  
 ξυνέχω τὴν εἰρεσίαν, 'continue  
 rowing,' 14, 1  
 ξυνήθη τῷ ἡμετέρῳ τρόπῳ 67, 2  
 ξυννενημένοι νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλων  
 87, 2

ξυνταράσσομαι 81, 2  
 ξυντέμνω ἐς ἑλασσον 36, 2  
 ξυντομωτάτη διαπολέμησις 43, 4  
 ξυντυχία : ὡς ἕκαστοι τῆς ξ.  
 ἔσχον 57, 1  
 ξυσκενάζομαι, vasa colligo, 74, 1  
 ξυσκοτάζει : ἡνίκα ξυνεσκοτάξεν  
 74, 3  
 ξυσταδόν : οὐ ξ. μάχαις ἐχρῶντο  
 81, 5 n  
 ξύστασις τῆς γνώμης, 'mental  
 strain,' 71, 1  
 ξυστρέφομαι, military term, 30,  
 2 al.

## Ο

ὀγδοον καὶ δέκατον 18, 4 n  
 ὀδε, irregularly referring to  
 something previously men-  
 tioned, 13, 2; this irregu-  
 larity is not uncommon in  
 the speeches; ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 τῷδε, 'at the same time,'  
 63, 3  
 ὀθεν : πάλιν ὀθεν ἦλθον ἀπο-  
 πέμπειν 27, 2 n  
 οἱ, sibi, 42, 4 n  
 οἰκεῖον, τό 44, 2  
 οἶκον, ἐπ' 25, 4 al. Cf. κατ'  
 οἶκον, 'at home'  
 οἶκτου ἀξιώτερος ἢ φθόνου 77, 4  
 οἰκῶ is used a. abs., b. w.  
 accus., c. w. ἐν  
 οἶμαι must not be constructed  
 with ὅτι  
 οἶος : ἀπὸ οἶας . . . ἐς οἶαν  
 . . . ἀφίκατο 75, 6 n; οἶα=  
 ὡς 79, 3 n; οἶος, attracted,  
 21, 3; μάχη οἶα οὐχ ἑτέρα  
 τῶν προτέρων 70, 2  
 ὀκνος ἐγγίγνεται 49, 4  
 ὀλεθρος χρημάτων 27, 3 n; ἐπὶ  
 τῷ σφετέρῳ ὀλέθρῳ γίγνεται  
 79, 3

ὀλίγος : δι' ὀλίγου, space, 36, 5;  
 ἔτι, 15, 2; ἐν ὁ., space, 67,  
 3; ἐς ὁ. 36, 5; παρ' ὁ.,  
 'nearly,' 71, 3; ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ  
 πολλῶν 87, 5

ὀλιγωρία, ποιεῖσθαι ἐν 3, 2  
 ὀλοφυρμῷ μετὰ βοῆς χρῆσθαι 71,  
 3; πρὸς ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπέσθαι  
 75, 4

ὀμαλόν, τό 44, 8

ὀμιλος, ὁ ἄλλος 58, 4 n

ὁμοῖα=ὁμοίως 29, 4 n

ὁμοίως : οὐχ ὁ. καὶ πρὶν 28, 4;  
 οὐδὲ (μηδὲ) . . . ἔτι ὁμοίως  
 42, 3; 50, 3; 78, 7

ὁμολογία γίγνεται ὥστε 82, 2

ὁμως : σχολαίτερον μὲν, ὁμως δέ  
 15, 2; cf. 44, 1 al.

ὄνομα, τὸ μέγα 64, 2

ὄνομαστὶ ἀνακαλεῖν 70, 8

ὄπη σωθήσονται διεσκόπουν 71,  
 6

ὄπισθεν, ἐκ τοῦ 79, 4

ὄπλα τίθεσθαι 3, 1; ὄ. ἐπιφέρειν  
 18, 2; ὄ. φέρειν ἅμα τινι 57,  
 6; ὄ. παραδοῦναι 82, 2;  
 ὄπλα= 'guard-stations,' 28,  
 2 n; = 'shields,' 45, 2

ὁποῖόν τι τὸ μέλλον ποιήσουσιν  
 οὐδὲν δηλοῦντες 38, 2

ὅπως . . . εἰ μὴ δύναιντο . . .  
 οἷοί τε ὥσι 4, 1 n; ὅπως ἂν,  
 w. opt. in final clause, 65,  
 2 n

ὅπως οὖν, following καί, 60, 3;  
 οὐδ' 49, 2

ὀργῇ προσμείξαι 68, 1

ὀρμῇ, τῇ παρουσίᾳ 43, 5; ἀπὸ  
 μιᾶς ὁ. 71, 6

ὀρώ : καθ' ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἑώρα 37, 2

ὀσάκισ, with opt., 18, 3

ὀσημέραι, 'daily,' 27, 5

ὀσμαι οὐκ ἀνεκτοί 87, 2

ὄσος : πλὴν ὅσον, with ellipse  
 of εἰμί, 23, 4 n; cf. 60, 2;

62, 4; 87, 2; τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον 28, 3; προσελάσαντες ἐξ ὅσου τις ἐμελλεν ἀκούσεσθαι 73, 3; ἐπὶ ὅσον 66, 1; οὐχ ἦσσαν (= μᾶλλον) . . . ὅσω μᾶλλον 63, 2; ὅσα γε κατὰ γῆν 11, 4

οὐδὲ μὲν . . . οὐδὲ δέ 27, 4 *n*  
ὅτι τάχος 42, 3. ὅτι *w.* clause following διὰ *w.* accus., 58, 4; following πρὸς *w.* accus., 60, 2; following κατὰ *w.* accus., 56, 2

οὐδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων = μετ' οὐδετέρων 33, 2; οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων 44, 1; οὐδ' ὥς 75, 6

οὐδεὶς : οὐδεμία χρήσις ἐστὶ τινος 5, 2; οὐδεμία σωτηρία ἐστὶ 8, 1; οὐδεμία δῖωξις ἐγένετο 34, 6; οὐκέτι οὐδὲν οὐδετέροις ἐπῆλθεν 59, 1; οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ 87, 2; οὐδεμῖα ἦσσαν 29, 5 *n*; οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν ἄξιος 30, 4; οὐδενὸς ἐλάσσων 85, 4; φόβος οὐδενὶ ἐοικώς 71; οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ 23, 3 *al.*; οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ 49, 3

οὐκέτι : ἢ οὐ. ἐπαναγωγή 34, 6  
οὖν, after a parenthesis, 6, 1; 42, 3 *n*

οὐριος ἄνεμος 53, 4

οὔτε . . . τε 30, 2; 31, 4 *al.*

οὗτος, emphatic, 2, 4; 29, 5; 32, 2; οὗτος, in epanalepsis, 42, 3; τοῦτο, *w.* gen., 2, 4; 86, 5

οὕτως πράττειν 24, 1

ὅψέ, μέχρι 83, 3

ὅψις )( γνώμη 75, 2

## Π

πάθος γίγνεται τινι 33, 3; πάθει χρῆσθαι ἀξίω ὀλοφύρασθαι 30, 4

παιανίζω 44, 6; 83, 4. παιανισμός 44, 6

πάλιν : ἢ *π.* κατάβασις 44, 8; ἢ πάλιν ἀνάκρουσις 62, 4; πάλιν αὖ 46; 64, 1

πανσέληνος σελήνη 50, 4

πανστρατία ἐξελθεῖν 2, 2

παντάπασιν ἀφεστάναι πολέμου 7, 2

πανταχῇ προσβάλλειν 79, 5

πανταχόσε πολλή φαίνεται ἡ δύναμις 42, 2

παντοῖαι πείραι 25, 8

πάντως, κατὰ πάντα 87, 6

παρά : (1) gen.; παρά Νικίου 10 (no other ex. of gen. in this book); (2) dat.; none; (3) accus.; *along* or *past*; παρά πόλιν ἐσκομίζειν 13, 1; *π.* ποταμὸν ἰέναι 80, 5; *to*, παρά θάλασσαν μεταστῆσαι (?) 39, 2 *n*; *contrary to*, *π.* γνώμην 13, 2; *π.* τὸ εἰωθός 60, 5; 75, 5; παρ' ἐλπίδα 66, 3 *n*; *π.* ἰσχὺν τῆς δυνάμεως 66, 3; *π.* τὸ καθεστηκός 67, 2; *π.* τὴν ἀξίαν 77, 1; giving the measure, παρά τοσοῦτον ἦλθον, with gen., 2, 4 *n*; παρ' ὀλίγον, 'by a little,' 71, 3 — opposite of παρά πολύ, 'by much.' Note that παρά with gen. and with dat. is used of *persons*, not of *things*; the same is true of παρά with accus. meaning 'to' *w.* verbs of motion

παραβηθῶ 37, 3 *al.*

παραγίγνομαι 42, 1 *al.*

παρακαλῶ, military term, 20, 1

παρακέλευσις : ἐκ *π.* ναυμαχεῖν 40, 4; πολλή ἢ *π.* γίγνεται ἀπὸ τινός τινι 70, 7

παρακλησθεῖς (?) 69, 4

παρακομιδὴ ἐπιτηδείων 28, 1  
 παραλαμβάνω οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου,  
 'obtain no important ad-  
 vantage,' 38, 1  
 παράλογον ποιῆσαι τινι, 'occa-  
 sion surprise to,' 28, 3 ; ὁ π.  
 τινι μέγας ἐστὶ 55, 1 ; οἱ ἐν  
 τοῖς πολέμοις παράλογοι 61, 3  
 παραλύω τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς, 're-  
 move from command,' 16, 1  
 παρανόμημα ἐς τινα περιέστηκε  
 18, 3  
 παραπλήσιος : ἴσον καὶ π. 42, 2 ;  
 τοιαυτὰ τε καὶ παραπλήσια  
 78, 1 ; παραπλήσια ἐπεπόν-  
 θεσαν καὶ ἔδρασαν 71, 7  
 παρασκευάζομαι, w. partic., ὡς  
 omitted, 17, 3 n  
 παρασκευή, 'force,' 48, 5 n ;  
 ἐκ π. κρείσσονος 55, 2 ; πα-  
 ρασκευῆς πίστις )( τύχης  
 ἀποκινδύνευσις 67, 4 ; π. )(   
 γνώμη 5, 4  
 παρατάσσω 3, 4 al.  
 παρατείχισμα, 11, 3 al.  
 παρυντικά : ἡ π. ὠφελία 57, 9 ;  
 ἐν τῷ π. 71, 7  
 παρέργον : οὐκ ἐκ π. τὸν πόλεμον  
 ποιεῖσθαι 27, 4  
 παρέχω προσδοκίαν ὡς ἐπιπλεύ-  
 σομαι 12, 4 ; π. ἀποστέρησιν  
 τῆς ἀκοῆς 70, 6 ; π. ἀπορίαν,  
 θόρυβον, φόβον 44 (e.g.)  
 παριππεύω 78, 3  
 πᾶς : ἰδέα πᾶσα καθειστῆκει  
 ὀλέθρου 29, 5 ; ἐν παντὶ  
 ἀθυρίας 55, 1 ; παντὶ τρόπῳ  
 70, 8 ; διὰ παντός, 'contin-  
 ually,' 6, 1 ; 61, 2  
 πάσχω τοῦτο, referring to a  
 previous statement, 11, 4  
 al. ; ἀνεκτὰ π. 77, 4  
 πατρικὰ ἀρετὰ 69, 2  
 πατρόθεν ἐπονομάζειν 69, 2  
 παχύτητες, αἱ 62, 3  
 πεδῖον (τὸ Ἀττικόν) 19, 1

πεζῇ ἀποχωρεῖν 60, 2  
 πεζομαχῶ 62, 4. πεζομαχία  
 62, 2  
 πεζός, ὁ (sc. στρατός) 35, 1 n, al.  
 πείρα : ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ π. 42, 1 ;  
 ἐς τὴν π. ἰέναι 21, 4 ; πείραις  
 παντοίαις χρῆσθαι 25, 8  
 πειρῶ, w. gen., 12, 2 n ; πειρῶ  
 = conor 32, 1 n. Thuc. uses  
 both ἐπειρασάμην and ἐπει-  
 ράθην : subsequent prose  
 writers only ἐπειράθην  
 πέλαγος : ἐς τὸ π. ναῦν ἀφιέναι  
 19, 4  
 πέμπω . . . ἀγγέλλων 8, 1 n  
 πέμπωιν νεῶν ποιεῖσθαι 17, 3  
 πεπτωκνῖαν δυνάμιν ἐπανορθοῦν  
 77, 7  
 πέρας οὐδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ  
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου 42,  
 2 n  
 Περδίκκας, his relations w. A.,  
 9 n  
 περὶ : (1) w. gen. ; περὶ τοῦ  
 σωθῆναι τὴν ἐπιμελείαν ποι-  
 εῖσθαι 56, 2 ; περὶ τῆς σωτη-  
 ρίας προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι  
 70, 7 ; (2) w. dat. ; δεῖσαι  
 περὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ 53, 4 n ; (3)  
 w. accus. ; time, as περὶ  
 ἡλίου τροπὰς 16, 2 ; place, as  
 περὶ ἔρμα ναῦν περιβαλεῖν 25,  
 7, n ; connected with, euphe-  
 mistic, ἡ π. Πύλον ξυμφορά  
 18, 3 ; cf. τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν  
 ἔργον II. 29  
 περιαγγέλλω σίδηρον 18, 4 n  
 περιγραπτός : ἐκ περιγραπτοῦ  
 ὀρμᾶσθαι 49, 2  
 περιδεῶς 71, 3  
 περιέστηκε ἐς 18, 3  
 περιδεῖν, w. inf., 73, 1 n  
 περιμάχητος 84, 5  
 περιμένω, 'wait for,' 74, 1 al.  
 περιορῶμαι, 'wait for events,'  
 33, 2



περιουσία: ἐκ πολλῆς π. ἂν  
 ὑπῆρχεν 13, 1  
 περισταδὸν βάλλειν 81, 4  
 περιφέρω, 'hold out' in war,  
 28, 3  
 περιχαροῦς, ὑπὸ τοῦ 73, 2  
 πιέζομαι ἀσθενεία, νόσῳ, λιμῶ,  
 etc. 47, 2; 50, 3  
 πίμπλαμαι, w. dat., 75, 4 n  
 πίστις παρασκευῆς, 'faith in  
 . . .', 67, 4  
 πλάγιος: ἐκ πλαγίου τάξει 6, 2  
 πλάσιον: ἐν π. τεταγμένος 78,  
 2  
 πλείστον ἔχειν ἐν 36, 5 n; ἢ  
 πλείστη τῆς στρατιᾶς 3, 4;  
 στρατιὰν ὅσην πλείστην ἐδύ-  
 νατο 21, 1  
 πλήθει ἀντίπαλοι 12, 1  
 Πλημμύριον 4; 23; 25; 32;  
 36  
 πλήν, w. gen., 28, 2 al.; not  
 affecting the construction,  
 2, 4 al.  
 πλήρωμα, 'crew,' 14, 1 al.  
 πλοῦν ποιῆσθαι 26, 3  
 ποιῶ τοῦτο, referring to a  
 previous statement, 48, 1  
 al.; ταῦτόν ἤδη ποιεῖ νικᾶν  
 τε καὶ μὴ, 'it makes no  
 difference,' 6, 1. ποιοῦμαι,  
 with noun as periphrasis for  
 a verb, but in a higher style,  
 ἀγῶνας π. 49, 2; ἀποχώρησιν  
 67, 4; ἄριστον 40, 1; ἄρπα-  
 γήν 26, 2; γνῶμην 72, 3;  
 ἔκπλουν 17, 1; ἐνθῦμιον 50,  
 4; ἐπαναγωγὰς 4, 4; ἐπι-  
 μέλειαν 56, 2; ἐπιχείρησιν  
 43, 1; καταδρομάς 27, 5;  
 κατάφευξιν 41, 1; κήρυγμα  
 82, 1; ληστείας 27, 4; ναυ-  
 μαχίαν 62, 2; πέμψιν 17, 3;  
 πλοῦν 26, 3; πόλεμον 27, 4;  
 τρόπην 54; φυλακὴν 17, 4.  
 See γίγνομαι. ποιούμενοι or

πον 28, 2, Append. II. ποιη-  
 τέα ἐδόκει εἶναι 73, 2  
 πολεμία (sc. γῆ) 75, 4  
 πολιτείας μεταβολή 55, 2  
 πολίχνα 4, 6  
 πολλάκις καὶ ἄλλοτε 8, 1  
 πολλαχῇ 43, 1. πολλαχόθεν  
 14, 2. πολλαχοῦ 70, 6  
 πολυειδῆ φθέγγεσθαι 71, 4  
 πολὺς: see ἐπί. πλέον τι ἔχειν  
 36, 2  
 πολυτελῆς ἐγίγνετο ἡ παρακομιδὴ  
 28, 1  
 πόνηρος, πονηρός 48, 1 *not. crit.*  
 πονήρως ἔχειν 83, 4  
 πόνος: ἐν π. εἶναι 81, 4; δι'  
 ὀλίγου π. κτᾶσθαι τι 70, 8  
 πονῶ, of ships, 38, 2  
 πορεία ἀσφαλῆς 77, 5  
 πορθμός, ὁ 1, 2  
 πόσις, 'drink': πρὸς π. τρα-  
 πέσθαι 73, 2  
 ποτέ: εἴπερ ποτέ 64, 2; μόλις  
 π. 40, 2; εἴ π. καὶ αὐθις 70,  
 7  
 πράγματα: τὰ π. ἐνδιδόναι 48,  
 2; see 49, 1  
 Πρασιαί 18, 3 n  
 πράσσω τι ἐς ἀναβολάς 15, 3;  
 π. χεῖρον 67, 4; π. ἔτι χεῖρω  
 71, 1; π. ἂ βούλομαι 68, 3 n  
 πρεσβυτέρας ἡλικίας φείδεσθαι  
 29, 4  
 πρὶν γε δὴ, w. aor. indic. after  
 affirmative clause 71, 5  
 πρό: τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν, *jam antea*,  
 55, 2  
 προδοκεῖν: ὥσπερ προεδέδοκτο  
 αὐτοῖς 18, 1  
 προθυμία γίγνεται πολλή 70, 3  
 προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι, w. gen.  
 of thing or περί 66, 1; 70, 7  
 προκαλοῦμαι τινα ἐς δίκας 18, 2  
 προκόπτω μέγα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ,  
 'make great advance w.,'  
 56, 3

προλείπει ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
75, 4

προπέπεμπται ὡς αὐτοὺς 77, 6

πρός: (1) with gen.; *to the advantage of*, πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι 36, 3; 49, 2; 81, 5; (2) with dat.; *near*, as ἔσχειν πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσι 35, 2; *besides*, 57, 5; (3) with accus.; *place*, as ὁρᾷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν 37, 2; ἀπιδεῖν πρὸς 71, 3; *with a view to*, πρὸς τὰλλα ἐξηρτύσαντο ὡς ἕκαστα 65, 2; ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 27, 2; — of intercourse, friendly or hostile, as πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμολογία γίγνεται 82, 2; χωρεῖ πρὸς ἐκείνους τὰ χωρία, 'join the enemy,' 14, 3; ἀγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνετο 70, 3; πρὸς ἀταξίαν προσμεῖξαι 68, 1; πρὸς τὴν ἀντίταξιν τῶν τριήρων τὴν φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι 17, 4; — *compared with*, πρὸς τοὺς ἐπελθόντας οἱ Σικελιώται αὐτοὶ πλῆθος πλέον παρέσχοντο 58, 4; — *with reference to*, *adapted to*, *expressive of*, τοιαῦτα ἐπινοεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν 37, 1; πολλὴ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν 70, 7; — *towards*, τοῦ ἔτους πρὸς μετόπωρον ὄντος 79, 3. Note: πρὸς w. accus. with meanings akin to 'in face of' is very freely used. πρὸς is often equivalent to ἐς προσάγομαι πόλιν 'unite to oneself,' 7, 2; 55, 2

προσαιοῦμαι ξυνάρχοντας 16, 1  
προσαναιροῦμαι πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος 28, 3

προσαπόλλυμαι 71, 7

πρόσβασις, 'approach,' 45, 1

προσγίγνομαι: προσγεγεννημένης τῆς δοκῆσεως τῷ ὑπάρχοντι, τοῦ (or τὸ) κρατίστους εἶναι 67, 1 n

προσδέχομαι τοὺς λόγους 83, 3

προσδοκίαν παρέχων ὡς w. fut. ind. 12, 4

προσδοκίμὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλη στρατιὰ 15, 1; προσδοκιμοὶ εἰσὶν ἄλλη στρατιᾷ 25, 9

πρόσθεν, ἐν τῷ, local, 78, 4, 5; 81, 3; ἐς τὸ π. χωρεῖν 43, 5; 78, 3

πρόσκειμαι, 'attack,' 29, 2 al.; 'insist,' προσκείμενος ἐδίδασκε 18, 1

προσμισθοῦμαι 19, 4

προσοφείλω πολλά, 'be in debt,' 48, 5

προστάσσω ἄρχοντα 19, 4

πρότερον ἢ, w. subjunct., 63, 1 n  
προύχω, 'excel,' 21, 3; 'project,' 4, 4

πρόφασις: ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει 13, 2 n

προφέρω, 'excel,' 64, 2 n; 77, 2; 'bring forward,' 69, 2

προχωρῇ, ὅπως ἂν 7, 3

πρύμναν κρούομαι 40, 1

πρῶ 78, 4; πρῶτερον 39, 1; πρῶτατα 19, 1

πρῶραθεν, τά, 'bows,' 36, 3

πρῶτος: ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, adverbial, 43, 5. See ἔπειτα Πυθῆν, Corinthian admiral, 1; 70

πυνθάνομαι, w. accus. and inf., 1, 2; w. ὅτι 1, 1; w. partic., 4, 7

πωλῶ ἐδώδιμα 39, 2

## P

ῥᾶον ἔσται ἢ ἐσκομιδῇ 4, 4 n;  
ῥᾶόν τι ἔσται σφίσιν 84, 2;

ῥάδιος ἐς τὸ βλάπτεσθαι 67,  
3

ῥύμη, τῇ πρώτῃ 70, 2

ῥώμη γίγνεται τινι 18, 2 ; ἡ ῥ.

προλείπει τινι 75, 4 ; ῥώμη

προφέρειν τινος 77, 2

ῥώννυμαι 15, 2 *n*

## Σ

σβεστήρια κωλύματα 53, 4

σημείον αἶρειν 34, 4

Σικελιῶται, almost universally

on side of Syr., 32 ; 33

Σικελοί, generally on side of  
A., 58, 3

σιτία παραγγεῖλαι 43, 2

σίτος ἐνὴν τοῖς τείχεσι 24, 2

σπανίῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ὕδατι 4, 6

σπένδομαι, mid. denoting a re-  
ciprocal act, 3, 1 ; σ. πέμψαι  
83, 1

σπονδὰς πρότερος λύω 18, 2

σπουδῇ ἔσται τῆς ὁδοῦ 77, 6

στασιάζω 46. στάσει ἐκπεσεῖν  
33, 5. στασιωτικοὶ καιροὶ 57,  
11

στενόπορα : τὰ σ. τῶν χωρίων  
φυλάσσειν 73, 1

στενότης 62, 1

στενοχωρία 34, 6 *al.*

στέριφος, 'thick,' 36, 3

στρατεία γίγνεται 57, 9

στρατιά : τῆς σ. ὁ ξύλλογος 31,  
4 ; στρατια ἄλλη προσδόκιμος  
εἶναι 25, 9

στρατὸς ἴσος καὶ παραπλήσιος τῷ  
προτέρῳ 42, 2 ; *i.e.* 'equal in  
importance and in numbers'  
(no tautology here). Cf.

Aristotle's remark : ἔστι δὲ  
διττὸν τὸ ἴσον · τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
ἀριθμῷ, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν ἔστιν  
Συρακόσιοι, after arrival of

Gylippus, 2 :

1. take Labdalum, 3

2. begin a counter-wall  
N. of κύκλος, and place  
cavalry at Olympieum,  
4 ; after driving back  
the A., carry the wall  
past the A. lines, 6

3. prepare to attack the  
A. by sea, 7 ; 21

4. defeated at sea, but take  
Plemmyrium, 22 ; 23

5. defeat the A. at sea,  
and become confident,  
41

6. dismayed by the arrival  
of Demosth., 42

7. through valour of Boeo-  
tians repulse the night  
attack on Epipolae, 43 ;  
44

8. defeat the A. fleet, 52 ;  
and control the Harbour,  
56 ; are confident of  
success, 56

9. completely defeat the  
A. fleet in the final  
battle, 70 ; 71 ; 72

10. prevent the A. retreat,  
73 ; 74 ; 78-81

11. capture and execute  
Dem. and Nic., 81-86

12. confine the prisoners to  
the quarries, 86

σφάλλω τὰς ναῦς 67, 2 ; σφάλ-  
λωμαι τοῦ αὐχήματος (?) 66, 3  
*n*

σφᾶς, properly indirect re-  
flexive, is sometimes used by  
Thuc. as direct, = ἐαυτοῦς,  
σφᾶς αὐτοῦς, as 35, 2 *al.*

σχεδόν τι, 'almost,' 33, 2

σχολαίτερον 15, 2 ; 81, 2

σφῶμαι : ὅπη σωθήσονται διε-  
σκόπουν 71, 6 ; οἱ σφῶμενοι  
44, 8

σῶμα )( ῥώμη 75, 4 *n*

σωτηρία, ἡ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα 70, 7;  
οὐδεμία ἔστι σ. 8, 1  
σωτήριος τοῖς ξύμπασι 64, 2

## T

ταλαιπωρῶ 16, 1 *al.* ταλαι-  
πωρία: ὑπὸ τῆς τ. καὶ τοῦ  
πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία 84, 2  
ταπεινότης: ἐς τ. ἀφικέσθαι 75,  
6  
ταραχὴ ἐμπίπτει 80, 3; τ. ποιῶ  
τινι 86, 4  
ταρσοί, 'banks of oars,' 40, 5  
n  
τάχος, ὅτι 42, 3; ὡς εἶχον  
τάχους 2, 1; διὰ τάχους 22,  
2; κατὰ τάχος 4, 3  
τε . . . δέ 1, 5; 81, 3; τε con-  
necting sentences, 4, 4 *al.*;  
τε . . . καί = *sive* . . . *sive* 6,  
1; τε summing up and con-  
cluding 7, 4 *al.*; <τε> 75,  
6 n  
τείχισις 6, 1; τειχισμός 20, 1;  
τείχισμα 2, 3  
τελευταῖος ὁρμῶμαι 2, 1  
τέλος: οἱ ἐν τ. 73, 1  
τετρυχωμένος πολέμῳ 28, 3  
τέχνης λείπεσθαι 70, 3  
τήρησις ἀσφαλῆς 86, 2  
τίθεμαι τὰ ὅπλα 3, 1  
τιμωρία: ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρία τοῦ  
προσπεσόντος 68, 1  
τιμωροῦμαι (pass.) ἀποχρώντως  
77, 3  
tis: the following show its  
flexibility; ἡπίσθησεν ἄν τις  
ἀκούσας 28, 3; ὅσα τις ἔχει  
ἐδώδιμα, πάντας ἀναγκάσαι  
πωλεῖν 39, 2; ἔφερον πάντες  
ὅ τι τις ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος 75,  
5; Ἑρμοκράτους καὶ εἰ τοῦ  
ἄλλου πειθόντων 21, 5; ἦν  
κρατήσωμεν, ἔστι τῷ τὴν . . .

πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν 61, 1; ἀξιῶν  
. . . ᾧ ὑπῆρχε λαμπρότητός  
τι μὴ προδιδόναι τινα 69, 2;  
πλέον τι 21, 4; σχεδόν τι 33,  
2; δηλοῦντες ὁποῖόν τι ποιή-  
σουσιν 38, 2; τὸ δέ τι καὶ,  
adverbial, 48, 2; τι μᾶλλον  
57, 1. The nom. and accus.  
neut. plur. are avoided

τό with infin.: (1) may be  
subject or object, as τὸ  
μήτε αὐτοὺς ἀνακρούεσθαι μήτ'  
ἐκείνους ἔαν ὠφέλιμον φαίνε-  
ται 62, 4; (2) with prep., as ἐκ  
τοῦ σφαλῆναι parallel w. διὰ  
τὸ εὐτυχεῖν 68, 3; ἢ διὰ τὸ  
φεύγειν ἢ ἐπιπλέουσα 70, 4;  
οὐκ ἔλασσον κατὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖ-  
σθαι, ἔς τε . . . τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖ-  
σθαι πολὺ πλέον μετείχετε 63,  
3; οὐ φυλάξασθαι πρὸς τὸ  
δοκεῖν τινι ἀρχαιολογεῖν 69,  
2; (3) gen., dat.: βραδὺς  
γίγνεσθαι τοῦ περαινέσθαι 43,  
5 n; πέρας τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι  
42, 2 n. In 36, 5; 67, 1  
and 87, 3 τὸ w. inf. appears  
in the MSS. as epexegetis of  
a gen. or dat. The accus.  
is defended by Herbst. See  
Append. II.

τοιούσδε, irregularly referring to  
what precedes, 78, 1. Cf. ὅδε  
τοιούτος: ἐν τῷ τ. 81, 3; ἐν τῷ  
τ. τοῦ καιροῦ 69, 2

τοσόσδε, irregularly referring  
to what precedes, 57, 11;  
59, 1

τοσοῦτος: παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν  
κινδύνου 2, 4

τότε, referring to events previ-  
ously mentioned, 31, 3; 32,  
1; 57, 11; 81, 2; τότε δὴ  
18, 3

τοῦναντίον ἢ 80, 1

τραυματῖαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς 75, 3



τρέπω : τὸ πρὸς Λιβύην μέρος  
τετραμμένον νέμεσθαι 58, 2 ;  
τρέπεσθαι πρὸς πόσιν 73, 2 ;  
τ. πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν 71, 3 ;  
τ. πρὸς ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλο-  
φυρμόν 75, 4. Note that  
ἐτρεψάμην is trans., ἐτραπό-  
μην intrans.

τρέφω : ὅθεν θρέφονται (pass.)  
49, 2

τρίβω, intrans., 48, 6 ; 49, 2

τροπαῖον ναυμαχίας, τροπῆς etc.,  
41, 4 ; 54 *al.*

τρόπος : τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν <ἐνῇ> 7,  
3 ; οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ 49, 3 ; παντὶ  
τ. 70, 8 ; τῷ αὐτῷ τ. 17, 3 ;  
τὸν αὐτὸν τ. 39, 2. τρόπων  
μίμησις 63, 3 *n*

τροφὴν μὴ διδόναι 48, 5

τυγχάνω : (1) with τυγχάνω,  
ἐτύγχανον, the partic. keeps  
its time relative to the verb ;  
(2) w. ἔτυχον, pres. and perf.  
partic. keep their time, but  
aor. partic. expresses time  
coincident w. the verb, 2,  
4 *n* ; 4, 2 *n* ; 29, 5 *n* ; 50, 4  
*n*. Distinguish ἐτύγχανον  
ἀλλιζόμενοι, ἐτύγχανον ἀν-  
λισάμενοι (or perf. better),  
ἔτυχον ἀλλισάμενοι

τύχη : τὸ τῆς τ. 61, 3 *n*

## Υ

ὕδρεϊα μακρά 13, 2

Ὑκκαρικὰ ἀνδράποδα 13, 2 *n*

ὕπαρχω : ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὕ. ἐθάρσυνε  
76

ὑπέρ, 'in place of,' 13, 2 ;  
'above,' 79, 1 ; 'on behalf  
of,' 66, 1 ; 'for the purpose  
of,' 69, 2 ; 'about,' 71, 2.

Cf. περί

πύερβάλλω, 'be excessive,' 67, 4

ὑπερώφθη, 'was disregarded,  
despised,' 42, 3

ὑπέχω τὸ αὐτὸ τινι 21, 3

ὕπνος : ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕ. 43, 2

ὑπό : (1) w. gen., as ὑπὸ τῆς  
Δεκελείας πολλὰ βλαπτούσης  
ἀδύνατοι ἐγένοντο τοῖς χρήμασι  
28, 4 *n* ; ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων  
ἐκπεπληγμένος 69, 2 ; cf. διὰ  
τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκπλαγόντων αὐ-  
τῶν 21, 4 ; (2) w. dat., ὑπὸ  
Συρακοσίοις γίνεσθαι 64, 1 ;  
(3) w. accus., as ὑπὸ τοῖς  
αὐτοῖς χρόνοις 21, 1

ὑποδοχή : ἐς ὕ. τοῦ στρατεύματος  
. . . ἐτάσσοντο 74, 2

ὑποκρίνομαι = ἀπο- 44, 5 *n*

ὑπολείπομαι or ἀπολείπομαι 75,  
4 *n*

ὑπομνήσκω τινά τι 64, 1 ;  
πατρίδος 69, 2

ὑπόνοια μὴ 49, 4

ὑποτελὴς φόρου 57, 4 *n*

ὑστεραῖος 11, 2 *n*

ὕστερον, 'late,' 27, 2

ὑστερῶ τινι 29, 1

ὑφίστασθαι τῷ ναυτικῷ 66, 2

## Φ

φανερὸς εἶναι w. partic., 12, 5

φειδῶ τις γίγνεται μὴ w. inf.,  
81, 5

φέρω : πάντα οἷστὰ φαίνεται 75,  
7

φθέγγομαι 70, 6 ; 71, 4

φθόνου ἄξιος 77, 4

φθορὰ ἀνθρώπων 27, 2

φιλονικῶ περὶ τοῦ πλείονος ἤδη  
καλοῦ 71, 1. φιλονικία : πρὸς  
τὴν αὐτίκα φ. 70, 7 ; ἐς φ.  
καταστῆναι 28, 3

φιλῶ, w. inf., 79, 3 ; 80, 3

φοβερὸς, active, 42, 3 *n*

φόβοι καὶ δέγματα 80, 3 *n*

φονεύω 85, 1 *n*

φονικώτατος 29, 4

φρουραὶ ἐπίασι 27, 3

φρουρῶ 4, 3 *al.*

φρυγανισμός : ἐπὶ φ. ἐξελθεῖν 4, 6 *n*

φωνή : φ. τῇ αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τινι 57, 2

## X

χαλεπὸς ἄρξαι 14, 2 ; 'un-healthy,' 47, 2 *n.* χαλεπώτερον ἴσχειν 50, 3 ; ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διάγειν 71, 3

Χαρικλῆς, as strategus, 20 ; 26. See Append. III.

χείρ : ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι 5, 2 ; ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι 44, 7 ; 70, 5

χείρῳ πράττειν 71, 1

Χῖοι, autonomy of, 57, 4

χρηματίζομαι 13, 2

χρῶμαι : ἐαυτῷ χ. ὅ τι βούλονται 85, 1 *n*

χώρα : κατὰ χ. μένειν 49, 4 *n*

## Ψ

ψήφισμα : ἀνευ Ἀθηναίων ψ., showing the control exercised by the Ecclesia over strategi having 'full powers,' 49, 2

## Ω

ώρα, 'season,' 47, 2 ; 'time,' 81, 1. The meaning 'an hour' is not classical

ὦρωπός 28, 1 *n*

ὥς = ὥστε 34, 6 ; ὥς ἐκ κακῶν 42, 2 *n* ; ὥς . . . καὶ 43, 1 *n* ;

60, 3 ; ὥς ἕκαστοι 65, 2 *n* ; 74, 2

ὥς : καὶ ὥς 74, 1 *al.* ; οὐδ' ὥς 75, 6 ; μηδ' ὥς 28, 3 *n*

ὥστε, 'on condition that,' 82, 2 ; = *quamobrem*, 4, 6 *n*, *al.*

ὠφελήσομαι, pass., 67, 3

ὠφελία ἐς τὸ θαρσεῖν γίγνεται 69, 3

ὠφέλιμος 47, 4 *al.*

# ENGLISH INDEX

## HISTORY : RHETORIC : GRAMMAR

### A

abstract for concrete 4, 6  
 Acarnania 31, 2  
 accus. See *παρά*  
 Aegina 28, 4  
 agent with perf. pass. 18, 3  
 Alcibiades and Nicias p. xxx.  
 Amphipolis 9, 1  
 anacoluthon 13, 2 ; 15, 3 ; 28, 3 ; 42, 2 ; 49, 1 ; 70, 7  
 anaphora 24, 1 ; 25, 6 ; 27, 4 ; 57, 2  
 antecedent omitted 27, 1  
 antithesis noticed 5, 4 ; 12, 3 ; 48, 3 ; 67, 4 ; order modified for sake of 17, 4 ; false 73, 5  
 Archonides 1, 4  
 Argos and Sparta 20, 1  
*argumenta*, *πίστεις* ; (1) *εἰκότα*—66, 1 *καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα καὶ ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται* ; 66, 3 ; (2) *παραδείγματα*—77, 2 *κάγω τοι κ.τ.λ.* ; 21, 3 *πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγων κ.τ.λ.* (3) *ἐνθυμήματα* 66, 2 end-3 ; 75, 2-4 ; (4) *γινώμαι*—67, 1 end ; 68, 3 end ; 77, 7 end ; (5) *τόποι*—66, 3 (τ., instead

of being amplified, are often compressed either into *γινώμαι* or into the premiss of an enthymeme)

Aristotle on Nicias p. xix

Arnold, Dr., on 85, 3, p. 210

article 1, 1 ; 2, 3 ; 4, 2 ; omitted before a prep. 18, 1 ; case of 67, 1, Append. II.

Athens and her allies 20, 2 ; 57, 1 ; state of A. in 414, 413 Append. III. ; Athenian prisoners 87, 5 ; J. S. Mill on the democracy p. xvii. ; treatment of Nicias p. xxxiii.

Attica, invasion of 19, 1 ; p. 219

attraction of short clauses 21, 3 ; 47, 4

— of preposition 23, 1

— of relative 23, 3 ; of nom. of rel. 67, 3

augment in Thuc. 82, 3

### B

Bekker, his text of Thuc. p. xlii.

brachylogy 18, 4  
 Brasidas and the helots 19, 3  
 brevity, excessive in Thuc.  
 (*συντομία*) Append. I.

## C

Callias, son of Hipponicus, p.  
 221  
 Camarina and Syracuse 33, 1  
*capitalia finalia*. See *fines*  
 Catana 14, 2  
 Charicles 20, 2  
 chiasmus 5, 4; 12, 1; 14, 2;  
 55, 1; 57, 1; 63, 3; 70, 4;  
 75, 5  
 Classen on 57, 1, p. 177  
 Cleon pp. xx., xxi., xxvi.  
 closed harbours 38, 2; 69, 4  
 comedy in 414 B.C. p. 218  
 comparative, ellipse with 12, 4  
 Conon 29, 4  
 construction of *πυνθάνομαι* 1,  
 2; of *πέμπω* 3, 1; of *πε-*  
*ραιοῦμαι* 1, 2; of *ἔσχω* 1, 2;  
 of *τυγχάνω* 1, 4; 4, 3; of  
*ἀγγέλλω* 17, 3; of *λέγω* 29,  
 1; of participle 28, 4; of  
 perf. pass. 4, 6; of *κρατῶ*  
 11, 2; of *ξυμβαίνω* 11, 4  
 contrast, Thuc. fond of 1, 3  
 co-ordination of dissimilar  
 clauses 14, 2; 18, 1; of  
 participles 53, 3  
 Coreyra 57, 3

## D

dative of possession 26, 1  
 dead, recovery of 72, 2; 74, 2  
 Decelea 27, 4  
 definitions (*ὅροι*) preferred by  
 Thuc. to examples (*παρα-*  
*δείγματα*) 36, 5

demes and tribes 69, 2  
 democracy 14, 2  
 Demosthenes 16, 1; his entry  
 into the Great Harbour 42,  
 1; his death 86, 2  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus p.  
 213  
 docks of Syracuse 22, 1  
 drama in 414 B.C. p. 219  
 Ducetius 1, 4; 32, 1

## E

Ecclesia at Athens 10, 1; 48,  
 4  
 eclipses 50, 4  
 elections Append. III.  
 ellipse w. comparative 12, 4;  
 57, 6; of verb after *ὅσος* 23,  
 4; after *ὥς* 68, 2; of masc.  
 noun 35, 1  
 Enthymeme 75, 4  
 epanalepsis w. *οὗτος* 42, 3  
 epexegetis w. *ὥστε* 14, 3  
 ethos, use of in opening of a  
 speech, exemplified 77, 2  
 euphemism 64, 1  
 Euripides and Nicias p. xxxvii.;  
 resemblance to style of 71  
 Eurymedon 16, 1  
*exordium*, *πρόλογος*, in military  
 harangues closely connected  
 with the *propositio*, *πρόθεσις*,  
 61; 66; 77

## F

*figurae*, *σχήματα*, comprising  
 (a) *f. elocutionis*, σ. *λέξεως*,  
 (b) *f. sententiarum*, σ. *δια-*  
*βολας*:  
*figurae elocutionis*, *σχήματα*  
*λέξεως*, 'figures of language';  
 see *antithesis*; *homoeote-*



*leuton*, 75, 3 τῶν τεθνεώτων  
λυπηρότεροι . . . τῶν ἀπο-  
λωλότων ἀθλιώτεροι: *paronomasios* (parallelism in sound  
of whole phrases), 3, 3 ὁρῶν  
τοὺς Συρακοσίους ταρασσο-  
μένους καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως ξυν-  
τασσομένους: *paronomasia*  
(parallelism in sound of  
single words — by far the  
commonest 'figure' in Thuc.  
—next to antithesis), 39, 2:  
*anaphora* 18, 1; 24, 1; 25,  
6 ἔβαλλον . . . ἀντέβαλλον;  
27, 4; 57, 2 ξυνεστράτευσαν  
. . . ξυνεστράτευν: *asyndeton*  
71, 4; 77, 1

*figuræ sententiarum*, σχήματα  
διανοίας, 'figures of thought';  
*question* 44, 1: *oxymoron*,  
62, 4 πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν  
νεῶν; 70, 8 φεύγοντας φεύ-  
γουσιν

finance 28, 4

*finēs* or *capitalia finalia*, τέλη  
or τελικὰ κεφάλαια; (1) τὸ  
συμφέρον 14, 4; (2) τὸ  
νόμιμον 68, 1; (3) τὸ καλόν  
63; (4) τὸ ἀναγκαῖον 77, 7

future indic. after εἰ, 8, 1;  
purpose after relative 25, 1;  
fut. mid. in pass. sense 42,  
4; 48, 5; 67, 3; 69, 2

## G

genitive abs. in proximity w.  
another case 48, 1

— of definition 42, 2

— of measure 2, 4

— after πείθομαι 73, 2

Gibbon, his imitation of 71,  
71, 1

Grote on Nicias p. xviii.

Gylippus 1, 1

## H

harangues of generals 61; 66;  
77 (the last mainly a λόγος  
παραμυθητικός)

Hegemon of Thasos p. 221

Helorine Road 80, 5

helots 19, 2; 26

Heracles, feast of 73, 2

Herbst, notes from, Append. II.

## I

impeachment 48, 4

imperfect after ἐπειδή 23, 2;  
see τυγχάνω; of γίγνομαι  
etc. 56, 3; 71, 7; equivalent  
to pluperf. 36, 1

impersonal passive 62, 3

indicative after ὅτι 34, 7; see  
πρίν

infinitive; see τό, 'attraction,'  
Append. II.

interpretation, corrected, of 3,  
3; 4, 1; 6, 4; 13, 2; 14,  
1; 21, 3; 27, 3; 28, 3; 29,  
5; 36, 4; 41, 1; 42, 3; 44,  
2; 48, 1, 3, 4, 6; 50, 3, 4;  
55, 2; 57, 7, 9; 63, 4; 64,  
2; 67, 2; 68, 1, 3; 69, 2,  
3; 73, 1; 75, 4, 5, 6

*inventio*, Thuc. usually excels  
in p. 215

Ionic forms 4, 6; 75, 6

iterative ἄν 71, 3

## L

Leake, Col., on the κύκλος p.  
xii.

Lucian 2, 4

Lucretius, false antithesis in  
75, 3

## M

Macaulay on 'the Retreat' 75, 5  
manœuvres at sea 36, 4, 6

Manuscripts of Thuc. p. xxxix.;  
bearing of the *Vatican* MS.  
on the text pp. xl.-xlii.

meaning of ἐπισκευάζω 1, 1;  
ἦκω 1, 4; ἡσυχάζω 3, 3;  
ταλαιπωρῶ 16, 1; ὑπομένω  
17, 1; ἡγεμών 19, 1; ὄλεθρος  
27, 3; ὄπλα 28, 2; δυνάστης  
33, 4; παρασκευάζω 35, 1;  
ἔσπλοι 41, 1; τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
69, 2; καθ' ἐν 75, 2; τε γάρ  
81, 3; ἀρετή of 'moral'  
worth (its later meaning, as  
in Eurip.) 86, 5

Menander, not strategus, but  
specially appointed (προσηρη-  
μένος) to share the command  
(ξυνάρχων) w. Nicias, 16, 1  
mercenaries 48, 5

metaphor 56, 2; 68, 3  
middle voice, of ἐξελαύνω 5, 4;  
πειρῶ 32, 1; reciprocal use  
of 40, 4

Mill, on the Athenian demo-  
cracy p. xvii.

Mycalessus, destruction of 29, 2

## N

*narratio*, διήγησις 11, 2

Naxos in Sicily 14, 2

neuter adj. w. art., w. genitive;  
τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον 68,  
1

— for masc. 14, 2; 71, 3

— plur. of adj. and verbal  
43, 2; 73, 2, 3; καθ' ἕκαστα  
τῶν γιγνομένων 8, 1

Nicias and Cleon pp. xx., xxvi.;  
Peace of p. xxviii.; Thuc.  
on N. as strategus p. xxxi.;

N. and the Athenians p.  
xxxiii.; his responsibility p.  
xxxiv.; superstition of p.  
xxxv.; private character p.  
xxxvii.; letter of, its rhe-  
torical character 10; first  
harangue of, weak points of  
Append. I.; perfection of  
the second harangue of  
Append. I.; topics of 77, 1  
nouns, verbal, in Thuc. 13, 1;  
periphrases with abstract 16,  
2, 3  
number of verb w. ἕκαστος 44, 1

## O

object, common to verb and  
partic. 1, 3

obscurity due to brevity 55, 1  
oligarchs at Athens p. 220

omission of antecedent 27,  
1; 48, 6; of verb in rel.  
clause 45, 1; of preposition  
in 2nd clause 47, 4; 60, 4;  
of ὥς with παρασκευάζομαι  
17, 3; of art. before a prep.  
18, 1

optative joined to subjun. in  
final clause 17, 4

*oratio obliqua*, attraction in  
21, 3; 47, 4; long passages  
in 48, 5

order of words, why modified  
2, 3, 4; 18, 1; 22, 1; 23,  
3; 50, 1; 69, 2; rare order  
71, 3

## P

Parataxis 4, 2; 22, 1; 83, 4.

In sentences connected by  
particles, such as ἐπειδὴ . . .  
τότε δὴ, ὥς . . . καὶ (see

Greek Index) relics of parataxis may be seen  
 parenthesis 42, 3  
 Parthenon p. 221  
 participle, attributive, outside the article 23, 3  
 — construction of 28, 4  
 — co-ordination of 53, 3  
 — w. prep. and noun 29, 4  
 — neut. 68, 1 ; 83, 4  
 — change to inf. after 68, 2  
 — see *τυγχάνω*  
 — accus. abs. in fem. 31, 4  
 — gen. abs. without noun 48, 2  
 pathos, Thuc. great master of 75 ; 77, 7  
 perf. pass. 18, 3 ; 62, 3  
 period in Thuc., state of its development 19, 4  
*peroratio*, *ἐπίλογος* 15, 3 ; 64, 2 ; 68 ; 77, 7. These illustrate the manner appropriate to, viz. *exhortation*, *recapitulation*, *pathos*  
 person, 2nd or 3rd 61, 3 ; 63, 3 ; use of 1st 14, 1  
 Pisander, archon eponymus in 414 B.C. p. 219  
 pleonasm with *αὐτοῦ* 16, 1  
 plural of abstract nouns 62, 3 ; 80, 3  
*polyptoton* 44, 7  
 preposition attracted 23, 1 ; preposition and case as object of verb 8, 1  
 present joined w. aor. 3, 4 ; 11, 2  
*probatio*, *πίστις* 12-15 ; 62-64 ; 67, 2-4 ; 77, 1-6  
 proleptic use of adj. 4, 3  
 pronoun, epanaleptic 48, 3 ; use of, to express reciprocity 23, 3 ; nom. of rel. attracted 67, 3 ; influence of rel. lost in 2nd clause 29, 5 ; 69, 2

proportion, how expressed 28, 4  
*propositio*, *πρόθεσις* 11, 4 ; 61, 2-3 ; 66 ; 77, 1  
 prose composition at Athens p. 219

R

relative clause, attraction to 61, 3 ; rel. not expressed in 2nd clause 29, 5  
 Retreat, the, from Syr., object of the Athenians 78, 3 ; 80, 2 ; direction of their advance 79, 5 ; 80, 5 ; description of the start analysed 75  
 rhetorical devices 15, 2 ; 66, 3  
 romantic style, approximation to the 71, 7

S

sculpture at Athens p. 219  
 Segesta 57, 11  
 service, military, at Athens, 16 1 ; obligation to 13, 2  
 Sicels and Athens 57, 11  
 Sicyon and Sparta 19, 4  
 siege - works at Syracuse pp. i.-xvi. ; position of the Round Fort pp. xii.-xiv.  
 statesmen, culpability of 15, 1  
 strategi pp. 218, 220 ; 31, 5  
 style noticed 18, 3 ; 19, 4 ; 40, 1 ; 64 : Append. I. ; 84, 2  
 subject, rapid change of 4, 4 ; 18, 4 ; omission of 84, 4 ; placed first for emphasis 22, 1 ; 32, 1  
 — of infin., case of 20, 1 ; 21, 3 ; 34, 6

superlatives accumulated 42,

3

— placed in rel. clause 20,  
2; 21, 1; 60, 2; 86, 1symmetry of clauses, disregard  
of, noticed 14, 2; 18, 1; 27,  
5; 32, 2

synonyms distinguished 36, 2

## T

Tarentum, gender of 1, 1

taxation of allies 28, 4

*traductio* 67, 1 κρατίστους εἶναι  
εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνικήσαμεν;

70, 8 φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν

tragedy, writers of at Athens  
p. 218

## U

usage of πότερον 1, 1; τότε 2,  
3; ὥς 3, 3; ποιῶ, ποιῶμαι  
5, 3; ἐκεῖνος 6, 1; αἰδῖος 21,  
3; τε 24, 3; καὶ in πολλά  
καὶ ἄλλα 25, 8; οὐκέτι 34, 6;  
τε . . . τε 34, 7

## W

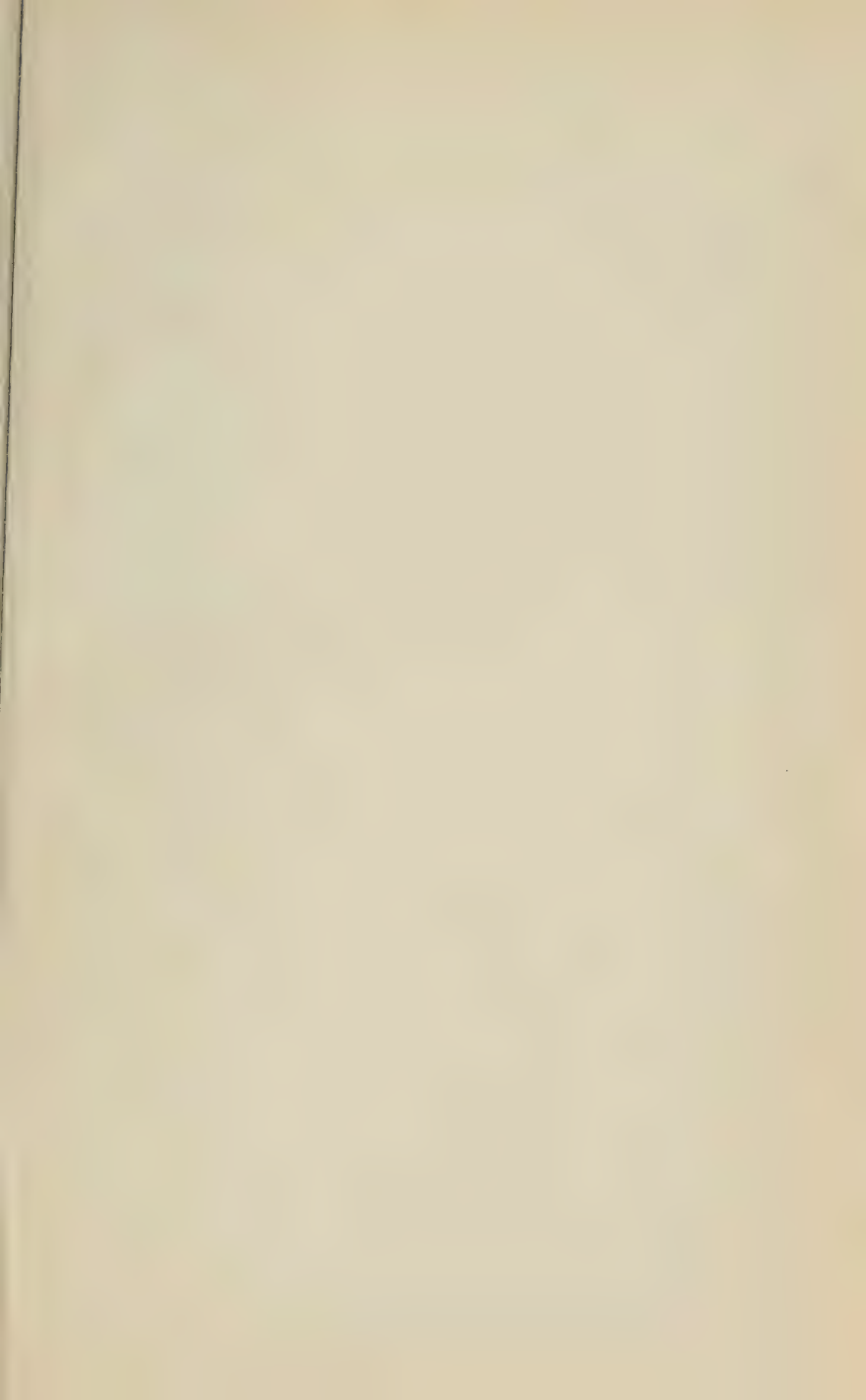
Wilamowitz - Moellendorff on  
the division of Thuc. into  
books p. xl.

## Z

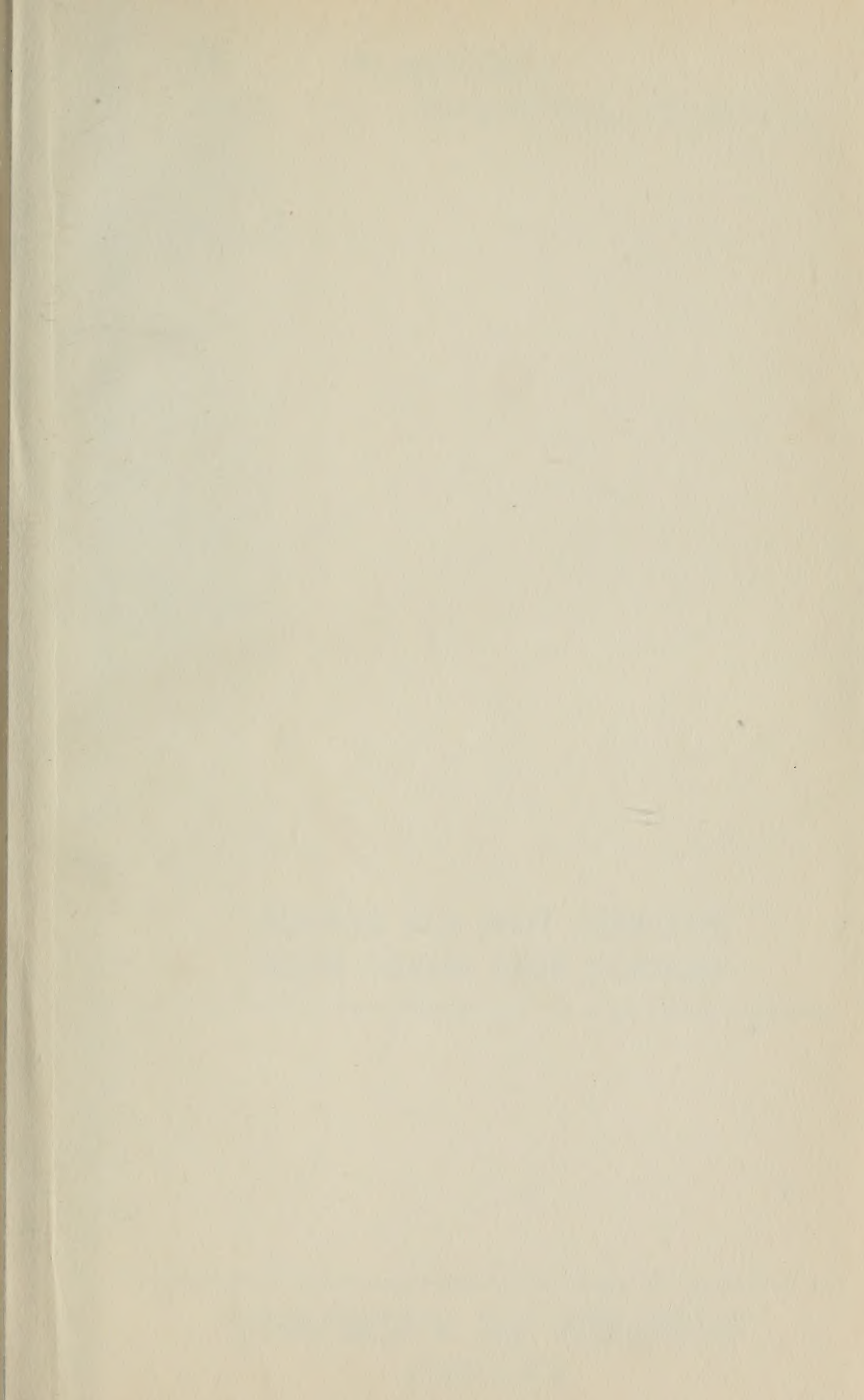
Zacynthus, policy of 31, 2

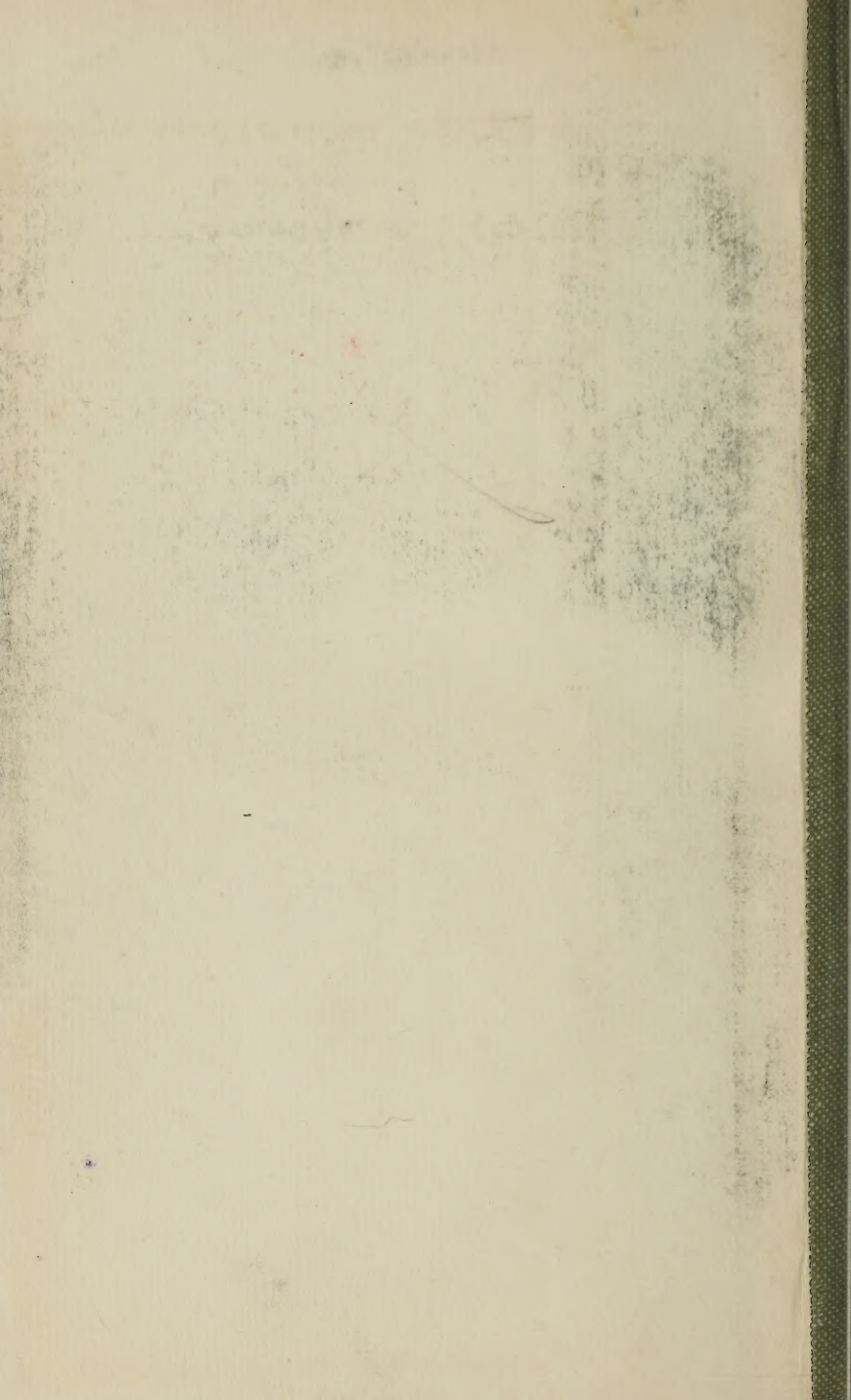
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